ESTERHAZY AND EARLY HUNGARIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Martin Louis Kovacs

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ESTERHAZY AND EARLY HUNGARIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Esterhazy and Early Hungarian Immigration to Canada

A Study Based Upon the Esterhazy Immigration Pamphlet

Martin Louis Kovacs

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ann.:	annotation to one of the pages of the Esterhazy pamphlet.
AR:	Assessment Roll and Register, 1905, Local Improvement District No. 10-A-2, Esterhazy.
DA:	Department of Agriculture, PAC (unless preceded by the symbol 'HF').
DI:	Department of the Interior, PAC (unless preceded by the symbol 'HF').
HF:	Homestead Files. Saskatchewan Provincial Archives, Saskatoon.
KMU:	"Canadian Hungarian News" (*Kanadai Magyar Ujsag*).
LR:	Letters Received.
LS:	Letters Sent.
MEM:	Memorabilia (Special documents and clippings of P. O. Esterhazy mounted in a book in the POEP, New York).
PAC:	Public Archives of Canada.
POEP:	Paul Oscar Esterhazy Papers, New York.
RG:	"Record Group", a term used in the PAC to determine locations of records.
RIK:	Roman Catholic Interment Records, Kaposvar.
RS:	The Reports of Rufus Stephenson, Homestead Inspector, to E. Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, February 20, 1889 DI 199595 — RG 15 B-1a, volume 104, File 90895/2.
SAP:	Santha Papers, Stockholm, Saskatchewan.
SLE:	Santha, Local Histories — Esterhazy, SPAR.
SLK:	Santha, Local Histories — Kaposvar, SPAR.
SP:	Sessional Papers.
SPAR:	Saskatchewan Provincial Archives, Regina.

INTRODUCTION

A tall, lean white-haired aristocratic-looking man, "Count" Paul Oscar Esterhazy (1831-1912), was the centre of attention in front of the small over-crowded church of the Esterhaz Colony on July 20, 1902. He had just finished speaking to an unusually large group of men, women and children, many of whom were openly crying. He was surrounded by them. They all tried to talk to him, to touch him and to pay homage to him. He seemed to command general attention and every sign of respect.

In contrast, the same man had been attacked and denounced as a cheat almost ever since he arrived in Canada in 1885. Even after his death in 1912 Esterhazy's person has attracted numerous eulogists and vilifiers alike. He has been presented as a 'scion' of one of the best known and richest aristocratic families of Hungary, and as a selfless warmhearted humanitarian. On the other hand, he has been censured an impostor apt to take advantage of everyone, who only assumed his name illegally for devious purposes.

But enigmatic P. O. Esterhazy, the founder of the Esterhaz Colony, was considered an important enough person in the Canada of the mid-1880's to have been received by many influential persons, including the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, and other Ministers of the Crown as well as the President and Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Even in his old age, in 1902, he could persuade the Department of the Interior, Ottawa and the CPR to commission him to visit the Colony with a view to writing a pamphlet about it.

This volume is concerned with the pamphlet compiled by Esterhazy as a result of his visit to the Esterhaz Colony, the first Hungarian-Canadian settlement in what today is the Province of Saskatchewan.

Esterhaz-Kaposvar constituted the focus of Hungarian immigration into Western Canada. In fact, the cultural island of the Colony acted as a transitional shelter for newcomers in the physical and psychological sense alike. As has been succinctly expressed by one of the informants of this study:

> The whole of the Hungarians of Western Canada derived from here. They all stopped over here. There were some who worked here for 2-3 years. Many of them had relatives here or acquaintances. Also those without any ties in the community would stop here for a while to learn the ways of the people, to get acquainted with the new country as if in apprenticeship.*

Indeed in the early 1900's some of the pioneers of Esterhaz-Kaposvar themselves and many of their offspring took personal lead in the establish-

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*Mihaly Orosz, 78, at Esterhazy, January 3, 1973.

ment of new settlements where they set examples and gave advice to later comers. In some cases, old-timers or their sons and daughters went to the East or further to the West into urban communities to provide social nuclei for new Hungarian immigrants. Consequently, the Esterhazy pamphlet with its comparative abundance of information on the role of significant persons and on the life and personal history of the early settlers within the Colony can be regarded as one of the main primary sources of early Hungarian-Canadian history. As a record which will be of more than local interest, the pamphlet deserves careful consideration and explanation,* as do the affairs of the Colony up to and around 1902, the year of the publication of the Esterhazy pamphlet. At the same time, both the pamphlet and the Colony provide a suggestive basis for a future history of Hungarian-Canadian settlements in Saskatchewan.

The Colony of Esterhaz was set in "the fertile belt" in and around the Rural Municipality No. 183, a region of light, loamy soil. At first sight the area very much resembles the countryside in Hungary close to the foot of the mountains on the edge of the Great Hungarian Plains. It lies very close to the Kaposvar Creek, which flows in a south-easterly direction in the vicinity of Kaposvar. The land constitutes what can be described topographically as a mixed, undulating and rolling terrain, and is bounded in the south by the deep and wide alluvial valley of the Qu'Appelle River. Geologically speaking, the region is located straight above a very wide (20-30 miles) potash belt coming from the direction of Saskatoon, which circumstance has become a decisive factor since 1957 for the development there of a major potash industry. The present population of the area, including the town Esterhazy which extends in its northern part, approximates 3,000. The district is favourably situated in Saskatchewan some 25 miles both from the Manitoba border and from Whitewood, its one-time market place in the south, and about 120 miles from Regina, the capital city.

*Its full title: *The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-West Territories, Canada*. For further details see the unabridged facsimile of the pamphlet in Part Two, IV below. The Title of the Hungarian version closely follows the English text. Names of Hungarian origin, if so used in this country, are spelt in appropriate contexts without the customary accents.

Part One

I. THE ESTERHAZY PAMPHLET

1. Canadian Publicity Concerning the West

The proximity of the United States has always affected Canada, and the field of immigration has been no exception in this respect. In the tremendous competition for immigrants prevailing between the two countries at the turn of the century and before, it appears that many of the techniques and methods applied by the southern neighbour were later adopted by the government officials of Canada.[1] One of the most important methods, particularly so for the present purposes, was the compilation, publication and distribution of immigration circulars and pamphlets. While immigration publicity, including the publication of printed material, was carried out in America by non-Federal agencies, in Canada Dominion agencies were much more active.[2] More precisely, from 1893 onwards, the Department of the Interior was in charge of immigration affairs. Publicity was to a great extent directed towards the United States.[3] Thus, the Dominion Government Immigration Agent in Winnipeg reported to the Department of Agriculture in 1886, "You may perhaps remember that I was specifically requested to flood the Western states with immigration literature."[4]

The administration of immigration, from 1893 under the aegis of the Department of the Interior, was immediately supervised by the Clerk of Immigration, L. M. Fortier. In 1894 this officer reported that an important duty of his included the editing, publishing and distribution of — amongst others — pamphlets in foreign languages. The list of publications presented seems to reflect the immigration preferences of the time for Scandinavians, Germans and French in addition, of course, to British immigrants. It is true that there is an item in the report mentioning 300,000 copies of "leaflets and small folders in various but unspecified languages", reported as having been published during the previous year.[5]

A much more dynamic approach resulted from Clifford Sifton's taking over the office of Minister of the Interior in 1896. According to Dafoe, his friend and biographer, the new Minister had one single urgent action in mind, and that was to people the West, so far unoccupied, with hardy, industrious and simple-living farmers, even if they were to come from Central or Eastern Europe.[6]

A feverishly active period of immigration followed, during which not only the Department of the Interior was infused with pulsating life under the immediate direction of its new Deputy Minister, James A. Smart, but also in which the railways were forced to have their lands patented and put up for sale. About 22.5 million acres were opened up for settlement during Sifton's term of office. Also, the advertising for new settlers had

to become more attractive. Related literature had to become more sophisticated and, not unlike the teaching techniques in the schools of the era, circulars and pamphlets were also expected to have "sense appeal" or, at least, appeal to the eyes through telling photographs.[7] In the early 1900's, already the Superintendents of Immigration, F. Pedley, then W. D. Scott, had the responsibility of attracting and processing newcomers, and their higher rank indicated the greater importance attached to those matters. Indeed, on September 26, 1903 Scott could report most impressive figures concerning immigration advertising. The total output of immigration literature from the Department in the fiscal year of 1902-1903 amounted to more than 1.3 million copies, including more than 530,000 pamphlets. In the same report, the following reference is listed: "Esterhazy pamphlet (English) 10,000 copies; Esterhazy pamphlet (Hungarian), 25,000 copies."[8] This statement introduces two of the main topics of the present study, namely the pamphlet and its author.

2. P.O. Esterhazy, the Immigration Agent *

Some years ago it was common practice (particularly in Hungarian-language publications of the sentimental kind) to present P.O. Esterhazy as an aristocrat whose only reason for taking an interest in immigration matters derived from self-effacing patriotic altruism. While there is evidence that he possessed a propensity towards compassion in his nature and treasured many of the tenets of romantic Hungarian liberalism, it is just as clear from his records that he made his living on this continent as a professional agent. He became a business man under the pressure of circumstances, rather than by inclination. As an immigrant with personal charm, with polite manners, with an aristocratic name and superior language skills,[9] Esterhazy would surely have been able to work himself up to a position of high responsibility with industry and perseverance. Indeed, he did possess these qualities, but without the required patience. No longer could he become a romantic conqueror like the Esterhazys of the past centuries. Thus, he instead turned his talents to the field of enterprise, so that business might provide him with status and social prestige. Nevertheless, it took him quite some time to formulate this aim and the necessary resolve. He became a minor official connected with the reception and processing of immigrants at Castle Garden, New York, the chief port of entry to the United States from Europe. In the course of his work, Esterhazy could not but notice the profound misery, exploitation and debasement that was the initial lot of peasant immigrants of the time. He assisted these new arrivals in various ways,[10] and also maintained correspondence with them and with their relatives in the old country.[11] These contacts seem to have formed the lion's share of his

*See also Chapter III. 2 below.

business capital, and at the same time to have predestined and limited the scope of his activities.

An agency in connection with insurance or immigration could be a likely choice for a man who did not have greater than average acumen or capital for business. As a matter of fact, it seems likely that his was even below average. According to a pertinent assessment by his youngest and favourite son, Esterhazy was "sorely ill-equipped in commercial pursuits".[12] Furthermore, his tendency to misjudge human nature also formed a heavy liability for him.[13] On the other hand, if his leaning towards over-optimism, usually an essential quality for an agent, had been under stricter control, it would not have led him to miscalculation in planning, or have landed him in chronic pecuniary embarrassment.[14] Perhaps it is not quite fair to ascribe all of his financial difficulties to his character traits. By the time of the founding of his first colony in Canada, he had a family consisting of eight children and his wife,[15] and it is on record that he was trying to do his best to care for their needs.

3. Esterhazy's Literary Inspiration

Paul O. Esterhazy was born in Esztergom and left Hungary at the still very impressionable age of eighteen. The basic traits of his personality must have been formed through his schooling and experiences as a soldier in the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848-49. It is not certain if he had begun studying English in his native land, but it is clear from his private documents, that by the mid-1850's when he joined the British Army, his command of written, and presumably spoken English was very good. Esterhazy, the immigration agent of the turn of the century, had already to rely to a very great extent on his facile pen and easy-flowing sentences to achieve his professional objectives. As evidenced in his surviving writings, most of his literary effort was spent in the carrying on of official and semi-official correspondence or in the compilation of immigration circulars and pamphlets. Nevertheless, his letters and printed literary products tend to reveal both a rich peculiar style, and an outlook based on values at times strangely out of touch with his profession. The Esterhazy pamphlet goes one step further; it provides information as well about the identity of one of the sources of our immigration agent's literary inspiration.

On page eight of the pamphlet is a reference to J. Paget, an early popularizer of Hungarian affairs. Paget's major work, written about Hungary and Transylvania, was based on his 'grand tour' of the two countries in 1835 and 1836. Its first edition in 1839 quickly became one of the few English language reference books of the time on Hungary.[16] Paget[17] settled on his wife's property in Transylvania,[18] and had by 1848 come to be an enthusiastic and very active supporter of the Hungarian cause against Austria. He provided a journalistic liaison between the English

press and Kossuth's government, following the collapse of which Paget fled to England.[19] It was in London that he arranged for a new edition of his book in 1850, and could have become acquainted with or known (prior to 1855, when the Pagets were permitted to return to Transylvania) the young John Baptist Packh — that is, the future Paul Oscar Esterhazy — before the latter's joining the British Army.

In any case, the quotation and two other lines in the last paragraph on the page derive from pages 74 and 75 respectively of Paget's 'new edition'.[20]

Esterhazy's quotation from Paget's work serves to show the agricultural qualities of the soil of the Colony and, by implication, of the whole prairie area. For the average inhabitant of Hungary, the best 'object lesson' in this respect was the example of the *Banat*, the best wheat-growing region of the country. The prairies at the time of the founding of the Colony were not unlike the Banat, which, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been 'puszta' (depopulated uncultivated land).[21]

In addition to direct quotations by Esterhazy from Paget's book, there are signs that he derived from Paget a more general inspiration from such passages as Paget's account of the Hungarian character, of the Austrian military border in southern Hungary in the 1830's, of the fame and exquisiteness of Esterhaza, as well as of facets of the life-style and socio-economic power of the aristocratic Esterhazy family in the west of Hungary,[22] all of which Esterhazy mirrors in his pamphlet. Furthermore, there appears to be a strong similarity between the two vocabularies and the two literary styles, although the unusually colourful and rich power of expression of both men may rather have been a common reflection of the spirit of the romantic literature of the earlier nineteenth century.

Thus, even if many sentences (e.g., page 9 of the pamphlet) derive from the author's strong identification with the subject, his basically romantic leanings come once again to the surface in them. Such sentences as "agriculture . . . will reach perfection, scatter flowers upon every valley, wind every hill with vines and pour its cereal treasures around the hearth stones of every home" could have come straight from Paget. But they also seem to indicate the copiousness of Esterhazy's vocabulary, his superb command of the language and the vividness of his imagination. Yet, his enthusiasm for this land as expressed in similar sentences is not a figment of the imagination; it is based on conviction.[23]

4. Esterhazy and Immigration Literature

The work of an immigration agent towards the turn of the last century appears to have been anything but easy. For a man like Esterhazy, it was imperative to possess various skills of persuasion, including a mastery of the written language. Of course, oral face-to-face communication usu-

ally proved far more effective than any other means, but the physical contacting of potential clients was time-consuming and risky, in that persons of the wrong type might be approached without any prospect of success. Immigration circulars and pamphlets were designed to reach a wider public, or to replace in varying degrees the costly personal approach of the agent in his search for prospective immigrants.

Esterhazy's acquaintance with immigration literature seems to have been long-standing and deep. Thus, a seven-page pamphlet and prospectus of the *First Hungarian-American Colonization Company*, displaying Paul O. d'Esterhazy as president and inviting capital of $100,000 in 1,000 shares of $100 each, was issued in New York in 1882.[24] Two years later, another prospectus announced the setting up of a company bearing the same name, but this time the capital sought was already $500,000 divided into shares of $100 each. It was signed in New York on June 25, 1884, by P. O. Esterhazy and Geyza S. Dory (of Huns Valley fame).[25] One year later, Esterhazy spoke of 500 immigration circulars in a letter to the Ottawa Department of Agriculture.[26] He also sent some very effective circulars to Hungary.[27] His first known pamphlet, entitled "To the Farmers and Agriculturists in Hungary", was published in order to advertise land owned by the Houston & Texas Central Railway Company, Texas, in March, 1890. Reference was made in it to his accomplishments in connection with the Esterhaz Colony. That the memory of the Texas pamphlet may have served as inspiration for Esterhazy in the compilation of the Esterhaz pamphlet is manifested by the fact that some brief portions of the Texas pamphlet reappear in the 1902 pamphlet.[28]

Esterhazy did not share the view that reliance by the government and transportation companies on advertising as a means of attracting immigrants could not be justified, or that such a belief could be called "pathetic".[29] But he was willing to admit that the efficiency of pamphleteering in immigration matters had not been at its best in Canada. He felt that this was mainly caused by "deficient, inappropriate and overdone campaign literature unwisely selected for the purpose."[30] And all of this occurred despite the realization that no other means existed "wherewith safely to approach the people in their homes, here and *abroad*". He thought that pamphlets should be "attractive, interesting and instructive", as well as terse. Their illustrations should display scenes and objects that were pleasing and familiar to the viewers. The text of an immigration pamphlet true to its purpose must hold out tempting promises to the "home seekers", and also represent the "general condition of things". The fact that the pamphlet is authorized and published by the government should be a stamp of verification of its honesty of purpose, as well as of the promises and descriptions contained therein. Therefore, great precaution must be taken against "the possibility of errors and omissions" in it.[31]

Esterhazy did not limit his attention only to Magyar immigrants. There is convincing evidence that he significantly contributed to the initial stages of Slavic immigration to Canada.[32] This he achieved through the production and distribution of pertinent literature in Slavic languages.[33]

5. The Pamphlet Period

While Esterhazy's role in the founding of one of the first Eastern-Central European settlements in the Canadian West appears, at least in a general sense, to be somewhat widely known, the topic of his later influence upon the development of the Esterhaz Colony has hardly been broached as yet, apart from some rather superficial statements in Hungarian-language publications.[34] Thus, very little attention has been focused on the most energetic and most consequential of the immigration agent's numerous intercessions with the government and the CPR for the well-being of the Colony or of individual settlers. The instance referred to quickly grew from another written plea into something broader and more significant. In the wake of his appeal to the Governor-General on April 2, 1902, Esterhazy succeeded, owing to a favourable grouping and interaction of personalities and events in the spring of 1902, in securing for himself a temporary yet decisive function affecting Hungarian immigration matters.[35]

The central event and, by the same token, the 'common denominator' of Esterhazy's often frenzied activities in about the two years after April, 1902 was the Esterhaz pamphlet. The booklet when published was looked upon with approval by contemporary specialists in the field.[36] Esterhazy himself tended to regard it as a significant accomplishment. The present-day historian of the Canadian West may be ready to agree with him to the extent that the pamphlet indeed forms an important primary source, both for the study of comparatively early Hungarian-Canadian settlements and for the history of the Canadian Plains. Thus, it is gradually assuming renewed importance. The events preliminary to the printing of the booklet, the lengthy process of its publication and distribution, with all of their consequences, constitute a well-defined span of time in Esterhazy's activities which may be termed "the pamphlet period". Esterhazy's trip to the Colony formed the first major phase of this period.

6. The Trip to Esterhaz

As can be traced in Esterhazy's substantial correspondence with his family during his absence from his home, the immigration agent departed from New York on July 2, 1902, and arrived in Montreal on the following day. His conference there with the President of the CPR apparently ended with excellent results. On July 4, Esterhazy had a decisive interview with James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Department

of the Interior. There is a brief summary of this discussion in one of the letters to his wife:

> I have been with the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Smart, from 12 o'clock until this hour; he is a hard man to deal with, not like good Mr. Lowe, but I think he will yield to my wishes. I was quite outspoken with him sometimes he got me out of temper by provoking remarks about the Colony, he promised however that he will act at once in the matter and will write to me . . . tomorrow.[37]

Unfortunately for Esterhazy, the interview was not quite as successful as he had described it for his family. His major request — that he be appointed as a salaried agent in Austria-Hungary — was rejected by Smart.

Nevertheless, he was granted permission to visit the Esterhaz Colony for the purpose of gathering material for his pamphlet. It appears that the inspiration to prepare a pamphlet had originally been occasioned by Esterhazy's endeavour to divert to Canada Hungarian immigrants entering the United States at Ellis Island, New York.[38] Indeed, this point served as the basis of Esterhazy's new connection with the Department, which was set down by Smart in a letter following the discussion of July 4. Esterhazy was to be engaged as an agent, with the compensation for his work to be derived from a commission paid on immigrants whom he managed to induce to settle in the Canadian West from among those newcomers who arrived at New York. Also, the conditions of the Esterhaz trip were spelt out more accurately. The immigration agent would go to the Colony and obtain material for a booklet to be written in the Hungarian language. He would receive $200 "for his services and expenses in this connection."[39]

There is no question that Esterhazy felt proud of the progress of the Colony named after him, and that he wished to see its expansion through further Hungarian immigration. But this desire became more urgent, owing to the immediacy and compelling nature of the financial stringency which beset his family. The letters to his wife and young son contain many indications of this state of affairs, which Esterhazy could not avoid disclosing in the course of his negotiations in Ottawa:

> I told him (Smart) about sending money to Mama as a condition of staying a day longer in Canada and that I myself have no means to pay my Hotel bill after tomorrow.[40]

In view of these difficulties, it is obvious that Esterhazy had high hopes as to the outcome of the venture for his family and himself: "Now as we are about to working out [sic] our salvation we must look to do duty first, and then for pleasure."[41]

The actual journey to Esterhaz started at 9:40 in the morning on Sunday, July 6. The travel had to be undertaken immediately at the advice of Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, who was very generous to Esterhazy:

> He offered to pay all my expenses and to advance me the money I am sending you herewith viz. a Money Order for $50.00 . . . he also said that he will take care of our interest and will not allow us to suffer any want.[42]

In this way, Esterhazy in fact obtained a commission from two employers to carry out his assignment in the Colony. His task, as far as the CPR was concerned, appears to have been much more comprehensive than just the gathering of material for the pamphlet. He was

> to inspect and examine the affairs and condition of the Colony and Colonists, also to look after the building of the new branch road which is to be ready next autumn about September; to write up the history of the Colony from its birth; to have photographic views taken of any spot and scenery . . . to have all this put in shape of a pamphlet; have it printed in the hungarian [!] language.[43]

The travel itself from Montreal to Whitewood proved to be rather abominable. The fatigue and the impatience of the aging man came out in cross remarks in his very frequent letters or postcards to his family in New York. At five in the afternoon on July 6, he noted down laconically, "weather very warm".[44] In the afternoon of July 8, the rear sleeping car was derailed, and the train's delay grew to nine hours. "This shaking of the car is most provoking."[45] At long last, they arrived at Whitewood station at 6 a.m. Wednesday, July 9. His age was beginning to tell on him, and the "evil effects" of the long journey were showing: "I am well but very tired indeed, so much so that I can hardly write all I wish to."

There was no "reception committee of Hungarians" awaiting him because, as Stephen Barath, who alone of the colonists was there, explained, the roads would have been too rough for horsemen.[46] In the morning of July 10 the photographer, sent by the Winnipeg Immigration Office, arrived and took the two photographs at Whitewood.[47] The taking of the photographs of Esterhaz-Kaposvar houses and scenes took place between the tenth and thirteenth of July. These few days must have been overly hectic and trying for Esterhazy. On receiving many letters from his family, he wrote: "I am so happy in the midst of this misery to know that you *all* are well."[48]

His three days at Whitewood on that occasion were spent, for the most part, in arranging the material for his pamphlet. Esterhazy returned to the Colony on Thursday, July 17, and it was on the nineteenth that he discussed the establishment of St. Istvan.[49] The following day, a Sunday, was the great occasion of his saying good-bye to the Colony. A multitude of Hungarian settlers, some from farther afield, had gathered together to talk and shake hands with him. It took him three hours after the Mass to get through with all of this. He had also addressed the parish for the sake of Woodcutter and said, in highly emotional terms, his last

good-bye to the colonists.[50] In 1973, there were still several old-timers about who remembered Esterhazy, and who recalled the final good-bye on that Sunday. For instance, John Barilla could still visualize the tall, lean, white-haired man standing in front of the group and saying, with tears in his eyes, "Good-bye, my friends, for the last time. I will never see you again." All of his audience was crying together with him. In Esterhazy's words, "After mass I said goodby to the people, there was much crying, especially the women."[51]

7. The Gathering of the Material

Esterhazy's activities during the visit included, among other things, the collection of source material for the pamphlet. The taking of the photographs had been completed between the tenth and twelfth of July, but it seems that the writing down of the statements of the individual settlers took place later. A quick reading of the dates appearing on the statements will indicate that the earliest of them, seven in number, were dated July 18. Eight others bear July 19 as their date. Another eight were compiled on the twentieth, four on the twenty-first and two on the twenty-second of July. The last two, procured considerably later, were written on September 13. The distribution of the statements in such a way leads to an important question: who did actually write down and collect these statements? Esterhazy was in the Colony during only three of the six days indicated; however, on two of them, he appears to have been engaged in other activities which would have made it difficult for him to find the time to travel the considerable distances between farmsteads. Furthermore, it is more than probable that he could not have visited the individual farms without spending a comparatively long time at each one, not only on the interviewing and other business, but also in simple, friendly talk. It therefore looks almost impossible that he could have fitted in visits to eight farms on July 19 and compiled, at the same time, his statistical table at Kaposvar.[52] As to the twentieth of July, this was the great Sunday, his last day in the Colony, and other activities took up practically all of his time. At 10:00 a.m. he was already at Mass, which probably did not end until some time after 11:00. Then it took him, according to his own statement, three hours to shake hands with and talk to the people gathered together for the purpose. This must have ended some time after 2:00 in the afternoon. He also recorded the taking of a hasty meal and the writing of a letter. At 4:00 on the same afternoon, he was already due to leave Esterhaz.[53] Furthermore, during the last three days of the drafting of the statements, Esterhazy was not in the Colony at all — so the probability of someone else having acted for him in this matter can be rated as very strong.

Indeed, the assumption is supported by certain indications as to the identity of the person involved in obtaining the information and wording

the statements. Hearsay in the district has it that Esterhazy made an arrangement with Marton Deme, a former officer in the Hungarian army, to assist him in this task. This assertion has been recorded by Paul Santha, the historian of the Stockholm area, in several of his writings. As a matter of fact, he attributes the preparation of the whole pamphlet to Deme. According to Santha's hypothesis, the ex-first lieutenant observed and evaluated the progress of the Colony in economic matters, and then used this material in the publication of a "special pamphlet".[54] Jean Pisak, for some years the main local historian of the Esterhazy district, reports a somewhat different version of the story: instructions were given by Esterhazy to M. Deme "to make a permanent record of the community".[55] This record should then have become the basis of a "book" published and distributed among would-be immigrants. Mrs. Pisak's contention that Deme was well-known and remembered by old-timers is attested to by two of the informants in this study, John Barilla and Istvan Szmerekovszky. The former had known Deme very well at Kaposvar, and is sure that he was a well-educated person and that he also met Count Esterhazy at Kaposvar in 1902.[56] Deme is recalled by Szmerekovszky as having been a well-spoken man wearing military-like clothing.

> He was not working as far as I know, but used to go in turn to different families of the Colony, where he would stay for a few days . . . I often saw him carrying Hungarian books in a bundle.[57]

It appears, then, that Deme was well-educated enough, and also had sufficient time, to carry out Esterhazy's assignment. It is very likely that the person compiling the statements benefited by the guidance of a set of questions jotted down by Esterhazy. This is borne out by the similarity in the structure of the respective accounts.

8. The Publication of the Pamphlet

Esterhazy began processing the material for his booklet on July 16 at Whitewood, and then carried on work intermittently. By the time of his trip to Montreal on July 26, he thought that he had completed the writing of it. Nonetheless, between 6:00 a.m. and 5:30 p.m. of the following day, he rewrote the whole booklet with a view to synchronizing the text with the photographs and, apparently, with several maps. As a result of a lengthy conversation with Shaughnessy and Van Horne, a CPR typist began to copy Esterhazy's manuscripts, and the immigration agent was reading the proofs simultaneously,[58] on the twenty-ninth. The next day's interview with James A. Smart proved a difficult duel of resolute minds. The end result of it was that the 250 English-language copies and the 2,000 copies in Hungarian as originally proposed were increased through F. Pedley to 10,000 and 25,000 respectively, a sign of his definite

approval of the pamphlet.[59] With this, a new phase of the pamphlet period opened up for Esterhazy.

Six months of virtual frustration followed. Already his negotiations with Pedley were somewhat marred by tension. The two men apparently were not compatible, as Esterhazy's terse account of his impressions of the official shows:

> The man's manners and language annoyed me considerably, he is a fit substitute of Mr. Smart, — and I told him very briefly that I came to Ottawa with the intention not to leave the place until I have seen my pamphlet in print.[60]

But many more disappointments were to follow, owing to the clumsiness of the process of publication necessary for the kind of pamphlet envisaged. One major drawback was that the manuscript, which had been prepared by Esterhazy in the English language, was now to be translated into Hungarian for the purpose of the Hungarian edition. However, there was no Hungarian print in Ottawa, and the task of both the translation and the printing of the Hungarian version had to be transferred to a "very reliable" firm in Chicago (Rand McNally and Co.).[61] Consequently, a lengthy triangular traffic resulted between the King's printer in Ottawa, Rand McNally and Co. in Chicago and Esterhazy in New York. The proofs went first to Ottawa, then from Ottawa to New York, and finally, after having been corrected, travelled the reverse. Owing to this complex arrangement, sometimes the heading of a page, a page of a chapter, or a map was missing. To the chagrin and utter disgust of Esterhazy, the respective deadlines (one week and one month) for the two versions of the pamphlet both came and went without any copies being published at all.[62] It did not help matters that Esterhazy complained again and again about inefficiency and waste of time. In vain did he point out repeatedly that the distribution of the finished pamphlets should have by that time begun. Perhaps it would have been wiser for the Department to inform him more frequently, and with less hesitation, as to the causes of delay. On November 5, 1902 Esterhazy, in his anxiety to quicken up proceedings, voluntarily offered to distribute a "supply" of pamphlets in both languages in New York and its vicinity free of charge for the Department even if, and this he clearly stated, there was no pertinent understanding with the Department.[63] The first fifty copies reached Esterhazy on December 4, and from this time onwards a small comedy of errors ensued: misunderstandings, wrongly delivered quantities of pamphlets, undue charges and the like. On one occasion, Esterhazy was upset by the arrival of 9,600 English copies when he had been demanding pamphlets in Hungarian. The Department was surprised at Esterhazy's request for instructions as to what to do with the enormous number of English copies. Esterhazy was quick to point out that the problem did not lie in the use or the manner of distribution, but simply in its expense,

since the Department was reluctant to pay for the postage and freight. At one stage, they refused to supply the immigration agent with Hungarian copies, for fear of the mounting expense of distribution.[64] Esterhazy felt wronged by the Department,[65] and once again submitted his case to the Governor-General, whose inquiry in turn sent the officials scurrying around and looking for documents and facts. Ultimately, Smart changed his mind, and it was agreed that the Department would pay the expenses.

Thus, through the forceful and convincing presentation of the facts of his case, Esterhazy once again succeeded in winning his point against the pettiness of an administrative system which, owing to the prevailing circumstances, could hardly avoid being petty and ponderous.[66] However, by winning on this point, he lost his case as far as his future influence upon and employment in immigration matters were concerned.[67] Nevertheless, his image in the Colony was growing more distinct and more favorable, as a result of his visit there in connection with the pamphlet. The erection there of the railway station and the village named after him served to mark this development externally. The name *Esterhaz* has since gone into oblivion to such an extent that hardly anyone, even among scholars, takes notice any longer of the difference that existed between *Esterhaz* and the place *Esterhazy* on the one hand, and between these two localities and *Kaposvar* on the other.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Norman Macdonald, *Canada, Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1966, p. 31.

[2] James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West, the Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, New York: Macmillan, 1939, p. 11.

[3] *Sessional Papers* No. 13, vol. 26, 1893, p. x (Sessional Papers hereafter: "*SP*").

[4] Department of Agriculture (hereafter: "DA") Letters Received (hereafter: "LR") RG 17, I-1, vol. 514, File 56583, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter: "PAC") W.C.B. Grahame's Letter, Nov. 25, 1886.

[5] *SP*, No. 13, vol. 27, 1894, p. 4.

[6] Cf. John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1931, p. 131.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-134, 138, 267; and Hedges, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[8] *SP*, No. 25, 1904, pp. 3-6. In the later part of 1902 Esterhazy negotiated with F. Pedley, the then Superintendent of Immigration (cf. e.g., LR, September 22, 1902, RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1, No. 223 725).

[9] The following was said (amongst other comments) about Esterhazy in *The Daily Eagle* (Boston) on May 10, 1887: "He is a man of unusual intelligence and quickness of perception, and speaks more than a dozen languages . . . Polish, Russian . . . German and English."

[10] For Esterhazy, the term "Hungarian" apparently meant all inhabitants of Hungary and, by extension, Austria, which in practice was limited to such Slavic peoples as Slovaks ('Slavonians'), Czechs and Ukrainians ('Ruthens'). Cf., for instance, "There were among the passengers of the steamship 'Rugia' 150 Slovaks, who were taken charge of by Count Esterhazy and treated to a substantial dinner at his request by the Immigration Commission." (Translated from the original German of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, January 19, 1883). Also, in the same paper (another clipping from the same period but without the date, also preserved in the POEP): "Count Esterhazy, the protoctor of the local Hungarians and Slovaks, forwarded 30 Slovaks to Amsterdam, N.Y. where they will be employed as iron workers at $1.50 per day." (Translated from German).

[11] Cf. *KMU*, April 23, 1927.
[12] POEP MEM, No. 1.
[13] He spoke, for example, of Julius Vass, who later caused much trouble for the Colony through his defalcations and mismanagement, in the following manner: "I regard Mr. Vass as one deserving every possible encouragement and courtesy; he is a gentleman in the strict interpretation of the word." (To John Lowe, Secretary, DA, Fordham, N.Y., April 25, 1886, RG 17, vol. 480, F 52667.
[14] He and his family must often have lived a kind of 'hand to mouth' existence, as indicated by numerous records. Cf., for instance: (This month's salary) "will not leave a balance sufficient to meet expenses *beyond* the *last day* of the month." (To J. Lowe, Toronto, May 24, 1886, RG 17, I-1, vol. 484, F 53089). Or, "Will you be kind enough to have a cheque for $58.34 mailed, at the earliest possible moment . . . and to charge this amount as an advance against my salary. This is to settle arrears of my house rent." (To J. Lowe, Fordham, New York, February 16, 1887, RG 17, I-1, vol. 525, F 58107).
[15] To J. Lowe, Montreal, May 22, 1885 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 441, F 48125). Their last child, his favourite son, was born as late as 1896 (POEP, Genealogical Chart).
[16] J. Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania. With remarks on their condition, social, political and economical*, new edition, 2 volumes, London: John Murray, 1850, vol. 2, p. 74.
[17] John Paget (1808-1892), born in Leicestershire, England, had studied medicine and obtained an M.D. degree at the Edinburgh University. But he gave up practice after he met a Hungarian widow in Italy. This acquaintance, soon developing into marriage, resulted in Paget's deep interest in Hungary and Transylvania (cf. John Kovacs, *An oration in Memory of the Late John Paget, Esq. Honorary Member of the "Kolozsvar English Conversation Club"*, Kolozsvar: Ajtai, 1893, pp. 6-7).
[18] Transylvania, formerly part of Hungary, was made a Turkish dependency, but in practice it functioned as an almost independent principality after the devastating victory of the Turks over the Hungarians at Mohacs in 1526. One of the demands of the reform movement in Hungary, which reached its peak in the War of Independence 1848-49, was for the union of Transylvania with Hungary, which was accomplished then and reconfirmed in the *Compromise* of 1867 with Austria. Now it constitutes the northwest part of Roumania (for aspects of its pre-1848 history and description see Paget, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 182-230).
[19] J. Kovacs, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
[20] Paget, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 74, 75. Paget, a great promoter of English-Hungarian cultural interaction, became fluent in written Hungarian as well. On the other hand, he played a significant role from 1876 onwards in the founding and maintenance of the "English Conversation Club" of Kolozsvar, Transylvania (now Cluj, Roumania), to which he also donated some 2,000 volumes (J. Kovacs, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 20, 21).
[21] The name *Banat* derives from *ban*, the title formerly of a high official of Hungary, meaning roughly 'governor of a border area', which the Banat indeed gradually became when exposed to Turkish raids in the fifteenth century, being permanently occupied by the Ottoman Empire after 1552. It was retaken by the armies of Eugene of Savoy in 1716, and repopulated by the Austrian military government in the subsequent decades. Geographically speaking, the Banat was the area bounded approximately by the rivers Maros, Tisza, Danube and the 22° east of Greenwich, with the main urban and military centre being Temesvar, from which its full name 'Banatus Temesiensis' was derived. Its eastern part now belongs to Yugoslavia, while the western is Roumanian territory. A brief summary of the main features of its past is contained in *Pesti Naplo*, April 25, 1879 in connection with the 100th anniversary of its return by Austria to Hungary.
[22] See in turn Paget, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 503-21; vol. 2, pp. 16-25; vol. 1, pp. 41-43 and 43-51.
[23] He wrote to his wife from Kaposvar on July 19, 1902 (POEP LS): "If it were not for the d . . . mosquitoes . . . the country would seem to have been marked out by the hand of God for a second paradise."
[24] POEP MEM, No. 47.
[25] *Ibid.*, No. 48. As to Huns Valley, see footnote 32 below.
[26] To J. Lowe, Fordham, New York, December 16, 1885 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 464, F 50758).
[27] To Lowe, Fordham, New York, March 10, 1886 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 474, F: 51907. *Ibid.*, vol. 20, F: 57456, January 8, 1887). The impact of this particular circular was shown by its practical result — three of the addressees named in Esterhazy's letter soon appeared in the Colony.
[28] It contains 17 pages, and is signed by Esterhazy (POEP MEM, No. 64c).
[29] See a similar recent view, Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[30] To T. G. Rothwell, Acting Deputy Minister, DI, New York, September 25, 1902 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1).

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] It is known that Esterhazy's first colony in Canada, Huns Valley (Manitoba), which at times was also referred to as "New Hungary Colony" (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F: 90895/1, p. 19), contained a majority of Slavic settlers (cf. *ibid.*, p. 32). Furthermore, such early Slovakian settlers at Esterhaz as J. Petrik, A. Petrics, A. Pangracz and G. Hanics had been members of Esterhazy's late September group in 1885, who then went to the Colony the following spring (cf. RG 17, I-1, vol. 454, No. 49591). Cf. his weekly *Hungarian-American Gazetteer*, which was to be circulated among people of Hungarian and 'Slavonic' origin, partly in their native language and partly in English. Esterhazy to the Governor General, New York, November 23, 1897 (RG 76, vol. 20, F. 337/1, No. 46778). Indirectly, accounts of the success of the first Hungarian colonies can be regarded as a factor in the beginning of Western Ukrainian immigration to Canada. (P. Yuzik, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. 31-32).

Then on September 14, 1887 Esterhazy, in his capacity as the manager of the German-Bohemian Departments of the Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association, approached the DI with the following: "I am now employing trustworthy agents in Bohemia, to invite and select amongst the well to do farmers, a number of families who will . . . proceed to Whitewood Station, NWT in the month April next . . ." RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, pp. 352-3). In this context, it may be interesting to refer to D. Hill, who connects the start of Slavic immigration with the intriguing statement that "Not all the Slavs of the Esterhazy district . . . could properly be called Hungarians" *(The Opening of the Canadian West*, New York: J. Day Co., 1967, p. 228.)

[33] For instance, he printed Hungarian and Slavonian circulars to which he made reference in his letter to J. Lowe on September 24, 1886 (RG 17, vol. 504, No. 55417).

[34] Unfortunately, some English-language books fall into the same category in this respect. Thus, Macdonald's otherwise very helpful volume, while utilizing numerous records, tends to be somewhat vague and inaccurate in its description of the Hungarian settlement and Esterhazy's role in it (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 224-228 and 325-326).

[35] Esterhazy sent his appeal from New York (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, No. 690467). The President of the CPR, Sir T. Shaughnessy, wrote to Esterhazy on April 4, 1902: "We all recognize the good work that you did some years ago in encouraging Hungarian immigration to our North-West Territory", and Smart, on June 10, 1902, thanked Esterhazy for his interest and expressed his hope that "many of these people (Hungarians) may be induced to come to Canada as they are amongst the most desirable of all settlers who have settled in the Canadian West" (copies in letter to W. D. Scott. DI, January 21, 1903. RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1, No. 238877).

[36] In this context see, for instance, Sir. T. Shaughnessy's opinion (Montreal, January 13, 1903): "The pamphlet . . . is an excellent publication and should stimulate and encourage Hungarian immigration" (*ibid.*).

[37] Ottawa, 2 p.m., July 4, 1902, POEP LS.

[38] C. Badgley's Memorandum, dated Ottawa, July 20, 1903, for W. D. Scott, DI (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/2, p. 1). The document was drawn up to provide a summary of Departmental correspondence with Esterhazy from July 4, 1902 to date.

[39] James A. Smart's letter to Esterhazy, July 5, 1902 (*ibid.*).

[40] Esterhazy to his wife, Ottawa, 2 p.m., July 4, 1902 (POEP LS).

[41] To his wife, Montreal, July 5, 1902 (*ibid.*).

[42] To his wife, Montreal, July 5 (afternoon), 1902 (POEP LS).

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] To his wife, on train, Peterwawa Station, 5 p.m., Sunday, July 6, 1902 (POEP LS).

[45] To his wife, on train near Winnipeg, 7:30 p.m., Tuesday, July 8, 1902 (POEP LS).

[46] To his wife, Whitewood Station, Assiniboia, 5 p.m., July 9, 1902 (POEP LS).

[47] To his wife, Whitewood Station, 7 a.m., July 10, 1902 (POEP LS).

[48] To his wife, Whitewood Station, July 14, 1902 (POEP LS).

[49] To his wife, Esterhaz Colony, Kaposvar, Assa., 6 a.m., July 19, 1902 (POEP LS).

[50] To his wife, Esterhaz Colony, Assa., 2 p.m., July 20, 1902 (POEP LS). Concerning the Rev. F. Woodcutter, See Chapter III, 3 below.

[51] *Ibid.* an interview with Janos Barilla, 89, at Esterhazy on August 31, 1973. Also Istvan Marjo, 84, recalled Esterhazy's farewell speech — interview in Regina, January 4, 1973.

[52]See ann. to p. 13 of the pamphlet.
[53] Esterhazy to his wife, Esterhaz Colony, Assa., July 20, 1902 (POEP LS).
[54]*Kaposvar, the History of the Oldest Hungarian Settlement*, a manuscript by the Rev. (later 'Monsignor') Paul Santha ("Local Histories — Kaposvar", SPAR, p. 12).
[55] (Mrs.) Jean Pisak, "Seventy Years Ago — 1885 Kaposvar Had Its Start", *Esterhazy Observer*, May 26, 1955. Deme was apparently one of those intellectuals who failed to find a niche corresponding to their expectations. He died some time later "in a Brandon hospital . . . a broken and disillusioned man".
[56] Letter from Janos Barilla, 89, Esterhazy, Sask., February 26, 1973.
[57] Telephone interview with Istvan Szmerekovszky, 87, Fort Qu'Appelle, March 16, 1973. "Deme was about the same age as Uncle Lengyel and my father, who were about 30 years of age when coming to Esterhaz. Deme liked to stay with the Lengyels in our neighbourhood, because both he and the Lengyels were of the Reformed religion . . ." In this context, see also ann.'s to pp. 29 and 30 of the pamphlet.
[58] Esterhazy's letter to his wife, Montreal, 6 a.m., July 29, 1902 (POEP LS).
[59] Departmental Memorandum from C. Badgley to W. D. Scott, DI, July 20, 1903 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/2, pp. 2-3). Pedley was the Superintendent of Immigration, DI.
[60] Esterhazy to his wife, Ottawa, September 2, 1902 (POEP LS).
[61] Esterhazy to T. G. Rothwell, New York, September 25, 1902 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1).
[62] Cf. L. M. Fortier to F. Pedley, DI, September 3, 1902 (*ibid.*).
[63] To L. M. Fortier, DI, New York, November 5, 1902 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1, No. 229006). — This statement was to become of great significance in the later dispute over the distribution expenses of the pamphlets.
[64] See the dispute summarized from the DI side by C. Badgley for W. D. Scott, DI, Ottawa, July 20, 1903 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1, pp. 4-7).
[65] A good summing up by Esterhazy of his views of the dispute: "It would appear that instead of carrying out your original intention in the manner of printing and distributing the pamphlets you have selected to embarrass my Agency with a prodigious supply of English Copies, which in the present campaign are of little if any use to me. — And you are now withholding from me and circulation, — for which purpose the literature was printed . . . A further supply of the Hungarian Edition which . . . was to have been ready for distribution last December . . ." To James A. Smart, DI, July 7, 1903 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/2, p. 43).
[66] The turn of the century was an era of still powerful *laisser-faire* outlook, when even the socio-economically weakest individual, such as the newly-arrived immigrant, was largely left to his own devices. Furthermore, those years being a time of immigration of vast dimensions, the immigration officials themselves were confronted by tasks of formidable magnitude, and at the same time found themselves under great pressure for greater economy. — See, for instance, the article in the *Manitoba Free Press* about the multifarious duties and activities of the Immigration Department (under the control of the DI) in Winnipeg; clippings sent by J. Obed Smith, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg to F. Pedley, Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa, April 17, 1902 (RG 76, vol. 188, F 201897).
[67] The reason for the non-renewal of his employment with the CPR was traced by Esterhazy to Smart's statement that the former's "efforts to secure immigrants" had not come up to expectation (December 21, 1903. RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/2, No. 290639). Smart's reply to Esterhazy denied that, and expressed his view that very little Hungarian immigration was to be expected from the United States. Such immigrants were to come from Hungary (January 7, 1904. *Ibid.*, No. 290680). Esterhazy's prognostication that efforts to induce emigration from Hungary would be terminated by the new anti-immigration laws proved to a great extent correct (to J. A. Smart, January 13, 1904, *ibid.*, No. 291782).

II. FROM COLONY TO TOWN

Esterhaz*

1. Esterhaz

The town of Esterhazy, one of the more flourishing communities in Saskatchewan, has derived from the Esterhaz Colony, yet the two names have distinctly different meanings.

Esterhaz, or with the proper Hungarian spelling Eszterhaza, is the name of a palace in Western Hungary which used to be the seat of the Prince Esterhazy family, famed for its permanent orchestra and art collection.[1] The author's, Esterhazy's, reference book by Paget, which he apparently had handy while compiling the text of the pamphlet, contains copious notes on the Esterhazy family and their palace Eszterhaza, which name, however, Paget, being an Englishman, prefers to spell as Eszterhaz.[2] Paget's spelling of the name is adopted in a very early document, of June 24, 1886, in which Esterhazy reports the completion of the Hungarian settlement and refers to it as "Eszterhaz".[3] However, the Hungarian style of its spelling was almost immediately abandoned in favour of an English approach. Thus, as early as July 13 of the same year, the name appears as "Hesterhaze" in an official letter and two days later as "Esterhaz".[4] In fact, these two communications were the basis of the setting up of the Esterhaz Post Office in the new Colony on SE 7, 19, 1. The same quarter-section was presented by Esterhazy in his report of June 24, 1886 as a town site reserved for a very special purpose: the establishment of a community to be named "Eszterhaz". As proof of general agreement, a petition signed by the settlers to that end was to follow.[5]

It was at the Esterhaz Post Office that the first meeting of the ratepayers for the Esterhaz School was held on September 21, 1888. Even if the majority of the ratepayers were Roman Catholics, the school district was described as 'Protestant'. However, soon two 'Esterhaz Schools', a Catholic and a Protestant, were catering to the educational needs of the Colony.[6] After a while, the Catholic (mainly Hungarian) Esterhaz School found a permanent home on SW 7, 19, 1 and the Protestant one (mainly Bohemian-Slovak) on NE 35, 19A, 2. The name of the latter, no doubt reflecting greater ethnic consciousness on the part of the Bohemian-Slovak population, was changed to 'Kolin' in the year of the publication of the pamphlet.[7]

After the taking over of the Esterhaz Post Office by Joseph Knourek,[8] who transferred it to his house on E½ 12, 19A, 2 in the Bohemian-Slovak Kolin district, the newly-established Kaposvar Post Office in the house of Istvan Barath on NW 4, 19, 1 became both the communicational and

*In connection with pages 1 and 3 of the pamphlet.

the social focus for the Magyar settlers of the Colony.[9] The importance of the name 'Esterhaz' as descriptive of the Colony was further reduced, in spite of the publication of the pamphlet, by the establishment in 1903 of the village of *Esterhazy* around the new CPR station of the same name, about 5½ miles north-east of *Esterhaz*.[10] In fact, a few months prior to the appearance of 'Esterhazy' as the nomenclature for the station and the village, the name of the Protestant Esterhaz School was changed, as has been seen above, to *Kolin School*. Furthermore, in order to avoid the possibility of confusion owing to the similarity of the words *Esterhaz* and *Esterhazy*, the name of Esterhaz Post Office was also soon eliminated and substituted by "Kolin".[11] By the 1920's, the memory as well of 'Esterhaz Colony' seems to have disappeared, even though the Roman Catholic Esterhaz School has continued to function until comparatively recently. Thus P. Santha, the priest historian of the Hungarian settlements of Saskatchewan, consistently refers to "Kaposvar, the oldest Hungarian settlement" as does Paizs, jotting down his impressions in the 1920's of Hungarians and their settlements in Canada. Moreover, the much-travelled reporter wonders about the identity of P. Esterhazy, "the founder of Kaposvar". Also Ruzsa, the diligent chronicler of Hungarian affairs, writes in 1940: "The first group arrived in July 1886 . . . and recalling the old country they named the settlement 'Kaposvar'."[12] In every-day language as well, Kaposvar came to represent the whole of the Hungarian portion of the rural settlement south of Esterhazy village.

2. The Location of Esterhaz

In the hectic and confused days of June, 1886, it looked natural both to Esterhazy and the colonists that they should settle down in a group after the pattern of their native villages in the old country. Indeed, in Esterhazy's report of June 24, 1886, there is distinct mentioning of a townsite on the south-east quarter-section of Section 7, Township 19, Range 1. It is claimed that this piece of land "has been reserved by the request of the settlers for the purpose of building up a Village, which the people of this community desire to have named 'Eszterhaz' . . ."[13] In spite of the fact that nothing came at that time of the village planned, Esterhazy tried to build up a center of sorts on the same quarter-section.[14] This land may have been chosen, not only for sentimental reasons (the original Eszterhaza as well in Hungary was situated on a lake-shore), but also for the easy availability of water. Furthermore, it could become the hub of a looser settlement. It appears that in the beginning the Colony occupied sections 5 and 6 of 19, 1, as well as sections 1, 2 and 3 of 19, 2, which constituted a compact tract of land of 5 square miles from the east to the west. Contiguous to sections 6, 19, 1 and 1, 19, 2 of the tract mentioned above and forming part thereof, there was a four

square mile area 'superimposed' towards the north (consisting of sections 7, 19, 1; 18, 19, 1 and 12, 19, 2; 13, 19, 2).

3. The Colony

The striking aspect of this settling arrangement is the fact that both odd- and even-numbered sections are involved in it, and thus it seems to have happened in partial contradiction to the railway resolutions connected with the Dominion Lands Act of 1879. In other words, not only were the even-numbered sections of Dominion Land set aside by law as available for free settlement taken up as homesteads, in this case by new settlers, but also the odd-numbered ones reserved for the Canadian Pacific Railway.[15] In fact, this pattern of settlement resulted from a great deal of negotiation between P. O. Esterhazy and various high officials of the government, some of whom were reluctant to yield on this matter.[16] This denser type of settlement constituted a *colony* — a phenomenon closely connected with the early years of continental immigration to the Canadian West. A one-time neighbour and shrewd observer of the Esterhaz Colony in its early days has the following to say in this context:

> The hiving of European immigrants in colonies was in the first instance a necessary evil . . . they had to be settled in colonies so that they could help each other and be helped . . . These original villages have disappeared. The people are now on their farms.[17]

The Esterhaz Colony, as has been seen, could not reach the village stage at all. The closest approximation to it was the placing, in the first few years, of the houses of the four colonists within each section in a foursome at the center of the section, thereby cutting them off from their nearest road. This latter circumstance later prompted the moving of the houses to vicinity of the road nearest to each, which operation in the case of the "company" (frame-) houses was, of course, feasible.[18]

4. Esterhazy's Account*

Esterhazy's apparatus in the pamphlet for arousing desire of emigration to Canada included what was meant to be an overview of the history and the description of the current condition of the Colony. The actual account is a rather disjointed sequence of episodes and snippets of geographical and climatic information concerning the area. Its long title incorporates a reference to township numbers and ends with the quotation of a proverb. The reference to Townships 18, 19 and 20 as well as to Ranges 1, 2, 3 and 4 is significant, for the Colony did not extend to Townships 18 and 20 or to Ranges 3 and 4, as can be seen from the comparison of these data with the title of the sectional map at the end of the pamphlet. It appears that Esterhazy wanted printed evidence about

*Also in connection with pages 7-12 of the pamphlet.

his claim concerning land reserved for the future expansion of the Colony.[19] Proverbs at that time still had a much greater significance for the average person. Esterhazy thought it useful to insert the dictum "nothing succeeds like success". Interestingly he quoted this saying, together with the Hungarian phrase of the dedication, in a letter not long before his death.[20]

The chapter itself is comprised of brief statements calculated to illustrate with examples (*Banat*, Italy), assumed to be known to the reader, the qualities of the soil, the climate and other economic aspects of the area. It is in the latter context that Esterhazy refers to the then largest urban community of the region. Whitewood about 1902 was still the centre of immigration for the whole area, and it served the economic and to some extent the social needs of the settlements surrounding it.[21] People had to go there to obtain articles required, and Whitewood was a ready market as well. On market days men of one settlement could meet people from other places, and that gave them an opportunity for the exchange of views, observations and news arriving from the Old Country or, for that matter, information about land being opened up, and so on. After 1902, the colonists no longer had to rely on Whitewood for everything they needed. There were already stores in their Colony itself. Nonetheless, there was no hotel, telegraph or even telephone, and because of this we see Esterhazy staying at Whitewood for quite a considerable time, owing to the greater comfort and convenience which it still provided.[22]

The Qu'Appelle Valley is a picturesque valley, and the land is most fertile along its banks. The river drains the whole area. It still created, in 1902, a formidable obstacle to traffic in rainy weather and during the winter. As to the quality of the land, there is a report on Hungarian colonization dated June 25, 1885 written by P. O. Esterhazy. According to this report the author, in company with Dory, examined the soil of the Qu'Appelle Valley very carefully, and came to the conclusion that the land would be greatly suited for the purposes of Hungarian colonization.[23]

Further statements in the overview (such as the references to Paget, the 'Hungarian character', the interview with the Governor General, Woodcutter, and so forth) supply bases for further discussion in other contexts of the present study. Esterhazy's mentioning of Kaposvar in his chapter several times calls for the consideration of the name and the place.

5. Kaposvar

The author refers to Kaposvar as a new district which is contiguous to the mother Colony. However, this is not entirely so. The name was chosen only after the Esterhaz post office had been taken over by the Czech group in 1890, and Kaposvar actually came later, to describe all

the Hungarian portion of the Colony. According to tradition, Istvan Barath and Istvan Pilcsak, Sr. managed to persuade the post office administration in Ottawa to send out a man named Melliur to provide a designation for the new post office. There were various suggestions concerning the name, one being Kossuthville, indicating the great popularity of the originator of that name.[24] Legend has it that Melliur in the end put his finger on the map of Hungary at random, and thus came up with the name of Kaposvár.[25] Another interesting aspect of this incident is that Kaposvar in Hungary was the centre of the large Esterhazy estates, and it is quite possible that to one or more of the colonists this fact had been known, and that is why the name may have been suggested. Kaposvar was already at that time a reasonably large city in Hungary, and the choice of the same name could have given the impression of importance also to this new settlement.[26] It is interesting in this context to refer to a remark by Santha in his *Three Generations* which indicates the strangeness of Western settlement for the immigrant.[27]

The importance attached to Esterhazy and his colonization scheme in 1885 was so great that the Governor-General of the Dominion, the Marquess of Lansdowne (who was in office from October 23, 1883 to June 10, 1888), was persuaded to discuss matters with Esterhazy. The audience must have taken place between May 2, 1885, the date of Esterhazy's arrival in Ottawa, and May 9, 1885, the date of his letter to the Marquess of Lansdowne in which there is reference to the audience.[28] The proposed colonization referred to would have been the setting up of a 'Military Border', not unlike the one that had been set up by the British Government in Kaffraria.[29] However, it is possible that Esterhazy's original inspiration had derived from the Austro-Hungarian Military Border also described by Paget. The name Kaposvar, though not meant to do so, would have well suited a Military Border in the West.[30]

6. The 'True Hungarian'

Owing possibly to the low social prestige assigned to the eastern-Central European peasant immigrants of the time, Esterhazy's historical account of the Colony (on page 10 of the pamphlet) provides a description of the idealized Magyar of the nineteenth century, incorporating many of the favourable characteristics of the current Hungarian liberal national self-image. The fourteen lines following the colon in line 7 from the top are taken almost word by word from the *Sessional Papers* (vol. 7, 1886, p. 125). Esterhazy is quoting this from his own long letter dated January 23, 1886 and directed to the Minister of Agriculture, which in turn was inspired by "Character of Magyars" in Paget.[31] This statement must have appealed greatly to the author, because he had employed it at least twice previously. It is in the prospectus of 1882 of the First Hungarian-

American Colonization Company headed by Esterhazy himself that the same quotation appears, introduced by the explanation that it is "by a historian".[32] On the second occasion when this statement was utilized, Esterhazy actually referred to the audience with the Governor-General in 1885, and he quoted the statement as "the characteristics of the *true* Hungarian". The place where the statement was used at this time is a pamphlet in Hungarian, which is addressed "to the farmers and agriculturists of Hungary".[33]

7. Against Swedish Expansion

The Historical chapter also incorporates brief information on contemporary issues facing the Colony. In this context, reference to the name *Szent Istvan* (on page 11 of the pamphlet) concerning a new Hungarian Colony in the neighbourhood of Esterhaz would be rather a cryptic statement, as in 1902 the only application of the name in the Esterhaz area occurs with regard to the school at Kaposvar.[34] However, the author throws light upon this statement in one of his private letters,[35]

> I had to decide yesterday to establish in this neighbourhood a third Hungarian Colony which will be named 'St. Istvan' after the 1st Hungarian king who was sainted . . .

As it turns out, Esterhazy had been approached by the colonists with a variety of requests. In the course of discussion with them, he became aware of the presence in the area of numerous recent Swedish settlers. He regarded their expansion as a threat to the future of the Hungarian colony. Therefore,

> No other remedy occurred to me but to ask the Land Offices of the Dominion Government *and* the Railway Co. to reserve sections of six townships contiguous to the land of the old colonies . . .[36]

Should the authorities approve his new plan of reserve, then, in Esterhazy's opinion, some 1,200 Hungarian families could be located on the land thus reserved. He feels that he is supported in this matter both by the people of the Colony and by their priest, Father Woodcutter.* His success in it

> will prevent the Swedish element to further encroach upon our old reserves . . . The Swedes are immigrating in formidable numbers to Esterhaz, they have their own Colony named 'Ohlen' . . .

This Esterhazy letter elucidates salient side-effects of its author's activities in connection with the preparation of the pamphlet. The 'old reserves' mentioned refers to land set aside by the Canadian Government in 1886 for the purpose of settlement by Hungarians. Even if this reservation was not meant to be effective beyond one year (yet subject to

*Concerning *Rev. F. Woodcutter*, see Chapter III, 3 below.

renewal)[37] Esterhazy seems to have formulated, perhaps owing to loose verbal assurances of officials, a more permanent claim to it. No doubt this claim was utilized with vigour and determination by the founder of the Colony in the promotion of his plan for a new reserve. It stands to reason to assume that, at the time of the writing of his letter, he himself intended to be the government immigration agent responsible for the settling of the land in question. On July 29, he is still writing with confidence to the Dominion Government about the subject of his 'future devices' and 'the compensation and conditions to be considered'.[38] However, on this page 11 of the pamphlet Esterhazy himself has to announce what is for him in his current financial predicament, the disastrous news that the Rev. Woodcutter is taking over the position, and that all letters asking for information should be directed to him.[39] Consequently, it is not surprising to read in a Department of the Interior memorandum that

> . . . by letter, dated the 29th November, 1902, the available even-numbered sections in townships hereinafter enumerated, were reserved to be settled on by certain settlers, named in a list furnished this Department by the Rev. Father Woodcutter. It was provided that such entries should be made before the 1st June, 1903 . . .[40]

The Townships listed in the memorandum comprise a total of seven, as against six suggested by Esterhazy in his above letter of July 19, 1902. They are reasonably "contiguous to the lands of the old Colonies" of Esterhaz and Kaposvar as described in the same letter and, leaning largely on the course of the Kaposvar Creek and combined in the south with the Qu'Appelle Valley, they constitute, with almost military precision, a pincer-like barrier placed strategically on three sides of the Swedish settlement, New Stockholm.[41] The centre of the Swedish colony was the Lutheran Church located on Section 5, Township 19A, Range 2, surrounded by a 'triangle' extending between the schools New Stockholm (NW 20, 18, 2), Scandia (SE 10, 19A, 3) and Swea (SW 9, 19A, 2).

Apparently, something like a game of chess was being played between Esterhazy and a member of the little group accompanying him to the Colony, J. E. Forslund,[42] a Swede and a mentor of the Swedish settlement. Esterhazy feels that "he is a very shrewd man", who is "considerably annoyed about the step I have now taken to prevent his own people to overrun our lands."

No direct evidence has been found so far to indicate that St. Istvan, the third colony planned by Esterhazy to bar Swedish expansion in the area, is identical with what later became the village Stockholm. However, references to it in the pamphlet (p.11) or in Esterhazy's same letter, such as "there is no more land to be found in the two first Colonies", it will be part of "six townships continguous to the lands of the old Colonies", or "is now in course of formation . . . to be located near

the proposed site of the station", make the hypothesis more than probable. Indeed, this assumption is also supported by the fact that an effort was made to mark Stockholm station on the very margin of the Sectional Map (well outside the map itself). Besides, a large portion of the Hungarian settlement of Stockholm is located on Township 20, Ranges 1 and 2, which accounts for two of the seven townships of the "new reserve", as has been seen above.[43]

8. Shelter for New Immigrants

A serious problem both for the Colony and for the current Hungarian immigration to Canada is touched upon in Esterhazy's historical account. Reference is made (on p. 11 of the pamphlet) to the setting up of an immigration tent in the vicinity of the parochial residence at Kaposvar. It seems that the provision of this 'commodious' tent for the Colony was yet another side-effect of Esterhazy's presence there during the time that he was collecting field material for the pamphlet, but also an unfortunate state of affairs is revealed indirectly by the same statement. Thus up to 1902 the Colony had not possessed any government shelter for newly-arrived immigrants, and even then it took Esterhazy to persuade the officials that the suave slogans of the politicians of 'laisser-faire' immigration were insufficient protection against the vagaries of the climate of Assiniboia. It is recorded in his letter to his wife of mid-July that there were many 'poor immigrants', including women and children, who were staying in the open air "without a roof over their heads, exposed to wind and rain". He even went one step further: he also applied to the authorities for the building of an immigration hut, "to be used for a kitchen and wash house and for a small range, cooking utensils, etc."[44]

9. Esterhazy Village Emerges

But of the statements incorporated in the historical chapter of the pamphlet the most significant for the future of the Colony was the one that foreshadowed the building of the town of Esterhazy not far from Esterhaz-Kaposvar. On their arrival in 1886, both Esterhazy and his colonists were keen to organize a village after the pattern of those they had come to know in the old country.[45] This first attempt proved a failure, and Whitewood remained their market place. Soon, it became clear to them that the precondition of establishing a town and market place was a railway line passing the Colony.[46] Therefore, the settlers tried whatever means they found available to obtain a railway line for their settlement. One record of such an attempt is Esterhazy's reply from New York of February 17, 1893 to a request of Istvan Barath, the postmaster at Kaposvar, of February 11, 1893, written in Hungarian "on behalf of all settlers in the Colony". The immigration agent cites the gist of Barath's letter, specifically that he (Esterhazy) should use his influence with railway

companies in persuading them to build a railway line to the Colony. His advice to the colonists is that they should draw up a petition in Hungarian for the purpose, complete with detailed explanation of why the Colony urgently needs a railway link. Having been signed by each colonist, it should be forwarded to him, and he would then undertake the necessary steps.[47] It is not known at present whom he approached. It is likely that he had received other requests on the same subject, all of which must have suffered the same fate. However, the last and most significant measure attempted by Esterhazy on behalf of the Colony, this time *not* for a railway line but directly for a town site, was taken on April 2, 1902. He approached the Governor-General[48], asking "for a grant of land upon which the settlers of that Colony may locate a town site". James A. Smart, Deputy Minister, Department of the Interior dealt with the matter. He had to point to the non-existence of regulations providing for such a case, but he thought that

> it would be well to know the exact location of the railway before any steps be taken to procure land upon which to establish a town-site.[49]

Esterhazy had also written to Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal. To his letter he received a prompt and friendly response on April 4, 1902, which was to open up a most useful and powerful influence in connection with the preparation and publication of the pamphlet, and, incidentally, the establishment and naming of the village.[50] It is likely that Esterhazy obtained the necessary information through this channel and passed it on to the leaders of the community. In any case, we find in the homestead file for SE 28, 19, 1, which quarter-section had been abandoned by Jacob Hruska of Kaposvar on May 18, 1900, a description of the piece of land as "not good for cultivation", and a letter from the Department of the Interior acknowledging the receipt on January 7, 1903 from the Rev. Francis Woodcutter, Kaposvar, of $460.00 which "along with the $20.00 already paid makes the full amount of the principal". There is an additional sum of $12.00 due for interest from June 14, 1902 to December 22, 1902.[51] It is clear from this that Father Woodcutter must have been prompted by some inside knowledge to pay such a large amount of money for a seemingly useless piece of land. And, indeed, that quarter-section was to accommodate the proposed railway station and a large part of the village.[52]

There is no evidence to indicate that any approach was made by Esterhazy to either the CPR or the Department of the Interior, with a view to naming the new station or the village after him. It is with some surprise that he tells his family from Ottawa on September 2, 1902 that

> Last evening I met at their Hotel Place Viger some Winnipeg officials of the CPR. — I am told the station in the Colony has been named 'Esterhazy'.[53]

A contributing factor to making this decision could well have been the original petition of the newly-arrived colonists in June, 1886 to ask for a town site and name the (never-built) village on it "Eszterhaz";[54] the very complimentary statement in this connection of the then Deputy Minister of the Interior, A.M. Burgess, may also have been of great importance:

> I understand that the Hungarian settlers desire to name their new settlement after you. I think that nothing could be more appropriate than that your services in inducing your countrymen to settle that section of our Northwest should thus receive permanent recognition.[55]

In addition John Lowe, now in retirement, put in a good word with J. A. Smart in regard to the town site and the character of Esterhazy — that his *bona fides* was tested through a special enquiry by CPR agents, that "he was successful in founding the settlement Esterhaz", and that "Departmental inspections showed that his work was well done".[56] To all these factors was added the liking and approval shown by the President of the CPR towards Esterhazy.[57]

By the end of 1903, the decision was also made that the village should have the same name as the railway station, that is, 'Esterhazy'. Thereby the beginnings were made of another flourishing settlement, the outgrowth in some respects, and competitor in others, of the Colony of Esterhaz. The beginning of life for Esterhazy entailed the beginning of the decline of the name 'Esterhaz', even if the moving of "many of the old settlers at Esterhaz and Kaposvar" predicted (on page 11 of the pamphlet) did not immediately take place. As to the erection of the buildings, which was forecast in the same place, Esterhazy was better informed. The Central Hotel, built in the summer of 1903, was the first building to be constructed on a surveyed lot in the village, and the first merchants settled at about the same time.[58]

This change from Esterhaz to Esterhazy or, in other words, from a type of organization where small scattered neighbourhood units centring on a school, post office and church prevailed, to a higher phase of development, in which the formerly near-independent units were integrated economically and administratively into a 'village', was indeed a momentous event. The facilities of this new marketplace, with a nucleus of British-Canadian shopkeepers and other businessmen, were to contribute gradually to a greater mixing of the various ethnic elements in the area. The proximity of the railway station enabled a greater flow of immigrants into the region, which in consequence was soon to evolve as the major, if unofficial, centre of Hungarian immigration in the West, and the place where immigrants could weather, culturally sheltered, the initial shocks of the adjustment to a new and, at first, frightening environment. The emergence of this arrangement can be traced, of course, back to a number of factors. Of these, one of the most decisive was the role of P.O.

Esterhazy who, although almost always absent, was an influential community leader. Less decisive, yet very important, parts were played in the Colony and in the wider Hungarian community of the area by the Reverends Woodcutter and Kovacsi.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cf. M. Horanyi, *The Magnificence of Eszterhaza*. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962, p. 159.

[2] John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania . . . With Remarks*. New edition. 2 volumes London: John Murray, 1850 (Preface dated 1839). In Paget's words: "Just at the Southern extremity of the lake stands Eszterhaz; a huge building . . . built only 1700 . . . Its marble halls, brilliant with gold and painting are still fresh as when first built . . . the beautiful theatre, for which an Italian company was formerly maintained, is now stripped of its gilded cornices . . . crowded as it was by the most beautiful women of four countries, its three hundred and sixty strangers' rooms filled with guests . . . its magnificence must have exceeded that of half the royal courts of Europe!" (vol. I, pp. 41-43).

[3] RG 17, I-1, vol. 490, F 53761.

[4] RG 17, vol. 1556, p. 24. John Lowe, Secretary, DA to William White, Secretary, Post Office Department, Ottawa, July 13, 1886. Reply to it, White to Lowe Ottawa, July 15, 1886 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 493, F 54145).

[5] RG 17, I-1, vol. 490, F 53761.

[6] "The Esterhaz Protestant Public School District No. 138 of the North-West Territories" was proclaimed as such by Joseph Royal, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories on October 5, 1888. *The North-West Territories Gazette*, Vol. 5, No. 11 (13th October, 1888). As to the emergence of the two Esterhaz School Districts see Vol. 7, No. 1 (1st January 1890) of the same *Gazette*.

[7] Its full name became "The Kolin Protestant Separate School District No. 138 of the North-West Territories". *The North-West Territories Gazette*, Vol. 19, No. 10 (May 31, 1902).

[8] The sectional map attached to the end of the pamphlet shows the *eastern* half of 12, 19, 2 as the location of the Kolin School and the Esterhaz Post Office. Also, the related homestead record (DI 252430) indicates that E½ 12, 19a, 2 was Knourek's homestead and not the *western* half as shown in the pamphlet. (p. 60).

[9] See ann. to pp. 24-25 (Istvan Barath).

[10] See notice about the establishment of the Village of Esterhazy on the south-east quarter of Section 29 Township 19 Range 1 west of the Second meridian. *North-West Territories Gazette*, December 15, 1903, p. 7. The quarter-section mentioned as site of the new village is marked on the sectional map attached to the end of the pamphlet (equivalent to pp. 69-70) as the site of the new railway station "Esterhazy". On the same map the name of the owner of the same quarter-section is stated as F. Woodcutter.

[11] *North-West Territories Gazette*, May 31, 1902, p. 7. Also, see Provick, *op. cit.*, n.p.

[12] As to Santha, see *KMU*, July 9, 1927, pp. 2-3 and SPAR, Local Histories — Kaposvar. The title of the manuscript: "Kaposvar, The History of the Oldest Hungarian Settlement." Paizs, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Ruzsa, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Howard Palmer refers to the Esterhaz Colony as 'Esterhazy' (*op. cit.*, p. 30).

[13] RG 17, I-1, vol. 490, F 53761. This arrangement described in the document may have been the legal basis for the naming of the railway station in 1902, and of the eventual village in 1903, 'Esterhazy'. It is significant in this context that 'Esterhaz' and 'Esterhazy' were frequently confused also in the very early years, and even in such important documents as the Sessional Papers. Thus, what should read 'Esterhaz' is consistently spelled as 'Esterhazy' in the founder's "Report on Hungarian Immigration and Colonization" of 31st December, 1886 (*Sessional Papers*, No. 12, 1887, pp. 237-239). Macdonald (*op. cit.*, p. 226) speaks of *Whitewood* as being "25 miles north of Qu'Appelle railway station", and claims that "Later, at the request of the settlers, the name was changed to Esterhazy in recognition of his services to colonization." More recently, Palmer (*op. cit.*, p. 30) refers to the *town* Esterhazy as being destroyed by prairie fires in 1886.

[14] See ann. to p. 26.

[15] Cf. Chester Martin, *"Dominion Lands" Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas. The Carleton Literary, No. 69, Ottawa: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973, pp. 142-143. — The usually large temporal gap between the settling of the even — and odd — numbered sections appears to have been a most salient, yet so far little researched, factor in the acceleration of the dispersal, atomization and gradual loss of identity of the ethnic groups of the West.

[16] The opposition included A. M. Burgess, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, as well. See, for instance, his brief on the subject of July 13, 1885 (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 103, F 90895/1, pp. 48-52). Esterhazy's original conception of the Colony envisaged the settling of an entire "township" (6 by 6 miles) by 76 families, leaving all but four (Nos. 1, 15, 21 and 31) odd-numbered sections unoccupied. The village site would have been constituted by four quarter-sections (NW 15, NE 16, SE 21 and SW 22) in the center (May 14, 1886, RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, p. 418). By actually placing the Colony in the contiguous southern corners of two townships (19, 1 and 19, 2), a more compact settlement was brought about.

[17] J. Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, 3 vols., Chicago-Regina: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924, vol. 2, p. 685.

[18] Interview with Miss Anna Laczko, 75 Kaposvar (NE 10, 19A, 1) on October 9,1972. Their house, built in 1886, which is one of the two "company" houses still in existence, had not been moved close to the road until 1918.

[19] See ann. to p. 13.

[20] See *CMF*, October 11, 1912 and ann. to p. 3.

[21] It was a station on the CPR line already at the time of the establishment of the Colony, having a population of 200 as well as post office, express and telegraph office. It was the 'shipping port' as well for the 'Hungarian and Bohemian Colonies'. Also, "D'Esterhaus (sic) Count Paul O." was listed in its directory as "President Hungarian Immigration and Colonization Aid Society" — *Henderson's Ontario, Manitoba and N.W. Territories Gazetteer and Directory*, 1887, p. 473. In 1900, its population is given as 300 and 1904 as 400 (*ibid.*, vols. 22, 1900, p. 193 and 23, 1904, pp. 474-475).

[22] Esterhazy stayed at Whitewood for half of the time or more during his Esterhaz-Kaposvar trip. It is clear from his correspondence with his wife at that stage that he was there on July 9, 13-16 and 22-24 POEP LS, *passim*. See also ann. to pp. 49 and 50.

[23] *SP*, Vol. 7, 1886, p. 117.

[24] See III fn. 72.

[25] Cf. *KMU*, May 7, 1927.

[26] Kaposvar in Hungary and a number of villages became Esterhazy possessions in 1702, and in the nineteenth century it was already regarded as an important city (Mihály Zádor, *Kaposvár*, Budapest: Műszaki Press, 1964, p. 76 ff). Incidentally, the origin of the name: 'Kapos' refers to the gate through the fortified frontier, 'vár' means 'fortress'; thus, the whole name: 'the fortress, at the (frontier) gate'. — Cf. Béla Kálmán,*A nevek világa* (The world of names), Budapest, Gondolat: 1967, p. 146. A creek in the vicinity of Esterhazy is still called Kaposvar.

[27] "They were surprised to hear that Kaposvar was not a village or hamlet but a name for the church and the post office." (p. 17).

[28] RG 7, G 20, vol. 224, F 395.

[29] *Loc. cit.*

[30] Paget, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 16-26. See ann. to p. 8 of the pamphlet and note 33 above concerning the name Kaposvar.

[31] Paget, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-521. See also ann. to p. 8 of the pamphlet.

[32] POEP MEM, No. 47.

[33] In March, 1890, POEP MEM, No. 64c.

[34] The St. Istvan R.C. Public School District No. 31 was set up on December 15, 1890, covering "Sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and fractional sections 9, 10, 11 and 12, in Township 19A, Range 1; and Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16, in Township 19, Range 1 . . ." (*North-West Territories Gazette*, January 1, 1891, p. 12). This tract of land can be described as Kaposvar proper.

[35] POEP LS, Esterhaz Colony, Kaposvar, Assiniboia, Saturday, July 19, 1902.

[36] See II 2.

[37] The 'old reserves' consisted of the even-numbered sections of Township 19, Ranges 1-5 and Township 19A, Ranges 1-5 (July 9, 1886, RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, p. 392). This area represented less than half of what had originally been requested by

him a year before — that is, Townships 17 and 18 along the same Ranges 1-5, over and above Townships 19 and 19A (cf. June 25, 1885, *SP*, vol. 7, 1886, p. 117).

[38] POEP LS, Montreal, July 29, 1902.

[39] For Esterhazy's related opinions and the Rev. Woodcutter's activities as an immigration agent, see ann. to p. 15 below.

[40] January 21, 1904 (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, p. 16).

[41] The seven townships were made up as follows: Township 20, Ranges 2, 3 and 4; Township 21, Ranges 5 and 6; and Township 22, Ranges 5 and 6 (*loc. cit.*).

[42] Forslund is described in Esterhazy's letter of July 19, 1902 as a 'land guide' of the CPR, but on p. 68 (the ann. to which see for further information) of the pamphlet he is referred to as an "Immigration Agent" of the same company.

[43] Apart from Stockholm, another Hungarian settlement, Cana, destined to flourish until the 1950's, came to be located on part of the 'new reserve'. Cana was located in the neighbourhood of Grayson, the second CPR station from Stockholm to the West.

[44] Whitewood Station, Assiniboia, July 15, 1902, POEP LS. — In 1905 (*SP*, No. 25, vol. 39), J. Obed Smith, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg, was already in a position to report (p. 72) that buildings for the purpose of 'immigration halls' had been rented by the Dominion Government in, amongst other places, Esterhazy and Kaposvar.

[45] The settlers in fact desired to have the village built on the town site (SE 7, 19, 1) named 'Esterhaz.' P. O. Esterhazy to John Lowe, DA, 'Eszterhaz', Whitewood Station NWT, June 24, 1886 (RG 17,I-1 vol. 490, No. 53761).

[46] The area had been promised railways even prior to the establishment of the Colony as, for example, in 1884 and 1885 (cf. the first issue of the *Esterhazy Observer*, March 14, 1907).

[47] SAP (unnumbered). — This is at the same time, a good example of how the settlers of the Colony approached Esterhazy through the unofficial head of the Community, the Postmaster of Kaposvar Post Office (concerning Istvan Barath, see ann. to p. 25). It appears that Esterhazy did not make any charge for such services to the colonists.

[48] The Earl of Minto, 1898-1904 (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, DI 90895/2, No. 690467, pp. 34-35).

[49] J. A. Smart to P. O. Esterhazy (Ottawa, April 7, 1902, *ibid.*, p. 33).

[50] The text of the letter as yet not known. Esterhazy provides a short favourable quotation from it in his own letter to W. D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa, dated January 21, 1903 (RG 76, vol. 20, F 337/1, DI 238877).

[51] The related patent was issued unusually quickly, as early as January 23, 1903 (DI 521832).

[52] See sectional map attached to the end of the pamphlet.

[53] POEP LS, Postcard written on a train to Ottawa at 10:30 a.m., September 2, 1902.

[54] See footnote 3 under present heading.

[55] To P. O. Esterhazy, Ottawa, July 13, 1886 (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, DI 90895/2, p. 402).

[56] J. Lowe (one-time Secretary, then Dep. Minister, DA) to J. A. Smart, Ottawa, April 24, 1902 (*ibid.*, p. 32).

[57] On July 5, for instance, he wrote to his wife about the generosity of Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, and on July 6, 1902 he told her ". . . In all matters of trouble write to Sir Thomas Shaughnessy for advice, he is an Irish Catholic gentleman . . ." (POEP LS).

[58] *Esterhazy Observer*, March 14, 1907.

III. LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP

1. Image and Leadership

Leadership constitutes a most vital problem in the life of every group. The term 'leadership', though widely and frequently used, is difficult to define. It can be thought of as the satisfactory fulfilment of the expectations of a group, with regard to one or several persons acting in its behalf. Those expectations may be partially or wholly emotional (irrational), and not based on past achievement. Leadership may be closely related to 'prestige', eminence supposed or real, and strongly appreciated by the group. Or, it may incorporate elements of Max Weber's *charisma*, that highly irrational quality which the group 'knows', feels or senses to be present in its leaders. In other words, the concept 'leadership', in the case of an ethnic group, very much depends on rational and irrational expectations, which in turn hinge on the values and traditions, and the whole culture of that ethnic community. In the light of its values, of its traditions and culture, the group crystallizes its expectations concerning its leader or leaders into a fairly clear-cut and coherent picture. The image thus created will become the model, by which to assess would-be leaders. For the majority of small farmers and village labourers of Hungary in the 1880's, the memory of serfdom, which had been abolished in 1848, was still very much alive. Owing to a combination of invasions, foreign domination, ineptitude and the ruthless selfishness of the ruling classes in the past, the peasants of Hungary were still accustomed, in the second-last decade of the last century, to looking to the members of either the nobility or the village intelligentsia for leadership. The type of leadership expected was prescriptive rather than suggestive, and more direct than consultative. Even if the most enterprising and least conformist elements of the rural population tended to emigrate from Hungary, the basic features of the old-country image of leadership did seem to survive among the colonists of Esterhaz.

There were, of course, important differences. For instance, the Canadian counterparts of the powerful village notary and judge were missing in the Colony. Furthermore, the teachers of early Esterhaz and Kaposvar, having very minor, if any, qualifications, and usually not being able to understand the Hungarian language, could rarely communicate with the colonists or earn their respect, and tended as a rule to stay there for eight months and then to disappear to some unknown destination. Consequently, it was the clergyman of the Colony who was expected by the settlers to take over the share in leadership normally assumed by other members of the local intelligentsia in Hungary. Neither the priests

nor the ministers of the community had been able in the past to provide leadership to the entire satisfaction of the community. This circumstance may have been due to unsuitable personality traits in some cases, but it could have been caused in others by the availability, albeit at a distance, of P. O. Esterhazy, an unusual individual and an effective and inexpensive counsel for the settlers.

It is true that he had a number of such shortcomings as impulsiveness, irascibility and a certain degree of levity in financial matters. Yet, he possessed external and internal qualities which seemed to predestine him to become the founder and, later, continual counsel and counsellor for various settlers, and at times also for the community as a whole.

One of P. O. Esterhazy's valuable assets as an immigration and settling agent was his aristocratic name and corresponding manners and appearance. Through his activities, he significantly assisted the colonists in their various troubles and often succeeded in influencing decisions and decision-makers on their behalf. In other words, P. O. Esterhazy was carrying out, over the years, some essential functions of leadership for the Colony Esterhaz, and he was greatly helped in achieving success in this respect as much by his supposed title as by his background and skills. Actually, in regard to the preparation of the pamphlet and during his visit to Esterhaz, our immigration agent displayed some quite striking examples of leadership, not only for Esterhaz-Kaposvar, but also for future Hungarian immigration to Canada. The instance of persistent and recurring discussion of P. O. Esterhazy's identity, and the contrasting presentations of his 'image', appear to reflect by implication upon his leadership and related merits or demerits. Since he was so deeply involved with the history and life of the Colony, it is pertinent to the subject to discuss aspects and examples of Esterhazy's leadership, his descent, and facets of his image.

2. Paul Oscar Esterhazy

There is little doubt that P. O. Esterhazy (1831-1912) counts among the most colourful and puzzling personalities connected with the peopling of the Canadian West. Perhaps no one else of Hungarian, or for that matter, of Eastern-Central European, background in the Canada of his era, possessed a similar combination of personal qualities as did this remarkable immigration agent. Consequently, when he appeared on the Canadian scene in 1885, he succeeded in arousing considerable interest in his Hungarian immigration scheme among the highest decision-makers of the country. Even the Governor-General accorded his approval to a more modest version of Esterhazy's plans,[1] as did Sir John A. Macdonald, and cabinet ministers and high officials of the Departments of Agriculture and of the Interior, as well as of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.[2] Esterhazy and his assistants in the venture managed to recruit

several groups of Hungarians (both Magyars and Slovaks) in Pennsylvania, and to lead them to Canada. As the first settlers (largely Slovaks) in 1885 had been settled successfully in a place called Huns Valley (later renamed 'Polonia')[3], Esterhazy was encouraged to undertake a further colonizing effort in the spring of 1886. The two groups arriving in June of that year were directed by Esterhazy slightly north of the Qu'Appelle Valley, to establish what was to become the Esterhaz Colony. The 35 families at first appeared contented, which was partly due to the fact that they were provided with a loan of $25,000 by Sir George Stephen of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, designed to reach them in the form of houses, farming equipment, tools, cattle and food supplies.[4] Esterhazy, keen on settling as many immigrants as possible, organized a large group in the United States, to leave for Canada at the end of August, in precisely the same way as he had done in 1885. But, contrary to the experience of the previous year, he was unable, in the fall of 1886, to find employment satisfactory to the members of the latter group, which also contained large Slav elements. Their employment in a coal mine ended in a scandal. Before long, both the men and the employers were pointing an accusing finger at Esterhazy and also at the government, and high officials both of the government and of the CPR hastened to disclaim any responsibility in the matter.[5] In vain did the immigration agent protest and submit reasonable evidence; he lost his employment with the Department of Agriculture early in 1887.[6] Of course, his position was further weakened by the fact that more than half of the settlers of Esterhaz Colony abandoned their houses and land after the first winter.[7] Although he had ceased functioning as a salaried agent of the Canadian government, he never gave up, in the succeeding years, his work for immigration, and he continued to take a keen interest in the affairs of Esterhaz-Kaposvar. It appears that it was Esterhazy who was responsible for the immigration of numerous later arrivals as well. In fact, he maintained more or less regular correspondence with some of the settlers there, many of whom continued to regard him as their mentor and protector.[8] When no one else could help them with a problem, they tended to turn to Esterhazy as a last resort. In several instances, he took up the cudgel on behalf of individuals of the Colony who had grievances or trouble with the authorities; and when he saw reason for it, he even approached the Governor-General, a tendency which did not endear him to officialdom.[9]

The identity of Esterhazy has been subject to great and varied speculation over the years. With great consistency, he never concealed or changed any details of his career; yet he just as steadfastly maintained his assertion in regard to his blood-relationship with the Count Esterhazy family of Hungary. In the light of his surviving private documents, there cannot be any doubt that he was born into the family of Johann Baptist Packh

of Esztergom, Hungary. Indeed, he bore the same name until 1867, during his service in the Hungarian army in the 1848-49 War of Independence and in the British Army between 1856 and 1866.[10] The first known instance of his referring to himself as 'Esterhazy' occurred on July 27, 1867, when he was issued an Austrian passport under the name 'Count Oscar Esterhazy' in Munich, Bavaria. It must be assumed that, by that stage, he had found sufficiently weighty reasons for believing that he had a claim to that name, and that he also possessed some documentary evidence to prove it to the Austrian ambassador.[11] During the summer of the same year (1867), he had some photographs taken of himself and his wife in Budapest, on some of which the inscription "Esterhazy" appears.[12] On September 8, 1867, the Committee of Certification for the Veterans of the War of Independence for Abauj County issued Certificate No. 89 in Kassa (then Hungary), stating that "Count Oszkar Eszterhazy (!), who had served under the name Janos Packh, identified himself as first lieutentant."[13]

At the beginning of 1868, he was already residing in New York under the name of Paul Oscar Esterhazy, and continued to do so until the end of his life.[14] Within a few years, his name often appeared in newspaper columns with the title "Count" before it. The children of the neighbourhood even called him "Mr. Count".[15]

As to his correspondence with Canadian authorities, Esterhazy was invariably addressed as "Count". Nevertheless, the question of his identity did arise, and became a matter of scrutiny several times. In the words of John Lowe, Deputy Minister of the Department of Agriculture,

> he (Esterhazy) was very violently attacked by New York and Pennsylvania papers and described as an impostor without having any pretention to the title of Count.[16]

It was W. C. Van Horne, the Vice President of the C.P.R., who drew the attention of the Department of Agriculture to the matter, and who had enquiries made in New York through the CPR agents there, as well as in Pennsylvania. The results favoured Esterhazy —·Van Horne

> was satisfied these attacks were without foundation and . . . Esterhazy was what he represented himself to be.[17]

Lowe disclosed, at a later date, that the shrewd and influential railway executive had also been strongly prompted to adopt this attitude by his own assessment of Esterhazy: ". . . he (Van Horne) believed d'Esterhazy an energetic man who had shown capacity for success."[18]

The Department of the Interior was warned by H. H. Smith, Commissioner, Dominion Lands Office, Winnipeg, about the publication in the *Times*[19] of an item about Esterhazy. The article reported that a recent issue of the *New York Herald* had referred to our immigration agent as "a wolf in sheep's clothing" and as "a so-called Count Paul O. d'Es-

terhazy", who avoided imprisonment in New York only through the timely intervention of a few individuals who settled some of Esterhazy's debts.

But, to return to the Department of Agriculture, the same information was received from an undisclosed source by John Lowe. For the sake of greater credibility, a clipping from a German-language publication was enclosed with the letter which, taking advantage of the episode reported in the *New York Herald*, added more specific information on Esterhazy. It asserted categorically that our Count Esterhazy's name was

> *Johann Baptist Pakh* [sic] who had already acquired quite a reputation in the New World as a common cheat.[20]

Both this and the item in the *New York Herald* concluded with the exhortation that poor Hungarian immigrants should not allow themselves to be hoodwinked into emigrating to Canada.

For the more discerning and initiated minds, the concluding statement revealed the main intent of the whole item, and aroused suspicion about all of its assertions. Notwithstanding, Esterhazy was confronted with the allegations. It is not quite certain what information and what specific documents were submitted by him. In a letter to Lowe, he makes reference to four testimonials which, however, attest his past work and reputation only in the United States. But then he asks Lowe to open and read the contents of a "smaller package"; which had been left there for safekeeping. It is explained in the letter that the package contains a book entitled *Record*. He provides, in this context, one of his more enigmatic and perplexing statements, couched in emotional terms, probably hinting at the secret of his birth described in the book:

> I shall leave the explanation that may be required in the case, which forms one of the sadest (!) events of my life, for my counsel to furnish, as he holds all the facts in his hands and can best show the great injustice done to me under the circumstances.[21]

At a later date, Esterhazy describes *both* packages left in the custody of Lowe. The "smaller package" is now described as holding "records, scraps and slips from newspapers, etc." The "larger one" is

> a black leather portfolio, brass-lock — contains my family and private papers . . . they are of vast importance to my wife and children . . .[22]

As a result of the consideration of the evidence submitted by Esterhazy or procured by the CPR agents in quiet, no credence was given to the accusation directed against him,

> . . . the minister is of opinion that the statements and documents contained in your letter referred to are sufficient rebuttal to certain statements affecting you as to cause him to say that he sees in such statements no reason to alter arrangements already made with you . . .[23]

It is true that there were periodical attempts to denounce Esterhazy on the same score later on, such as the simultaneous attacks published in at least three German-language newspapers in the United States at the beginning of 1887,[24] but the attempts were met by Lowe with the same evidence as in September, 1885.[25] Indeed, John Lowe continued to believe in Esterhazy's honesty and, accordingly, to support him whenever he could in the years to come. Lowe gave assurance to James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior, in April, 1902 about the *bona fides* of Esterhazy and about his merits in connection with the founding of Esterhaz.[26] This circumstance can certainly be counted as an essential factor in the preliminaries leading to the commissioning of the immigration agent to undertake the trip to the Colony, and to compile and publish the pamphlet. It is not surprising to find Esterhazy referring to him as the "good Mr. Lowe" in a letter to his wife in July 1902.[27] Of course, it was not merely through inate 'goodness' that Lowe was willing to support Esterhazy, but rather he must have been prompted by his extensive knowledge of the inside history of the settling of the Canadian West, of the utter failure of numerous immigration enterprises and of thousands of homesteaders there in the early years of settlement.[28] He was surely also aware that any assessment of Esterhazy and his work had to be carried out in the light of this sobering information.

But, to return to the problem of Esterhazy's identity, it appears that the immigration agent had dropped hints, in his weak and dejected moments, about the nature of his connection with the Count Esterhazy family. One such instance is recorded in regard to Tivadar (Theodor) Zboray, one of the leading members of Esterhazy's 1885-6 immigration team, and one of the original settlers of Esterhaz. He claimed in an interview almost thirty years after the event that

> . . . Count Esterhazy talked about it to me with tears in his eyes . . . His father refused to accept him . . . He was an illegitimate son . . . In Canada he was Count Paul Esterhazy . . . A distinguished gentleman of charming manners . . .[29]

Ödön Paizs, a Hungarian journalist and a reporter for some time for the *Canadian Hungarian News* in the mid-1920's, summed up the rumors about Esterhazy's origin circulating among the oldtimers of Kaposvar at that time:

> . . . the person of Paul Esterhazy, the founder (of Kaposvar), is fully shrouded in mystery. Many are of the opinion that he was a real count; others believe that he was only a natural son of one of the Esterhazy's . . .[30]

In 1940 some eight Hungarian-Canadian pioneers, men and women, were found by the Rev. Jenö Ruzsa to be still living in the Kaposvar area. The results of his conversations with them concerning P. O. Esterhazy were summarized tersely when he said that both Esterhazy's

descent and past activities were wrapped in obscurity, and that he posed, in Canada and the United States alike, as a lineal descendent of the Count Esterhazy family, without providing any proof of his identity.[31]

In spite of rumors about the secret of his birth, P. O. Esterhazy was not regarded by most Hungarian-Canadians as a fraudulent, dishonest person. On the contrary, a most favourable 'image' of him existed and persisted amidst the settlers of the Colony. Thus, in 1894, A. M. Burgess, further antagonized by Esterhazy's complaint to the Governor-General about the Department of the Interior's apparent reluctance to act with respect to some grievances, asked for an inquiry concerning Esterhazy's relationship with, and standing within the Colony.[32] The resulting official report, very much against the expectation of the Deputy Minister, turned out to be most favourable for the immigration agent. In addition, it placed on record important facets of his image and leadership as seen by the community. Further significance was attached to the report by the fact that it was compiled by a dependable government official.[33] One of the salient features of the report is its willingness to draw Departmental attention to some of Esterhazy's more obvious contributions to the well-being of the Colony.

One of these contributions was simply Esterhazy's readiness to listen free of charge to the problems of the settlers, whenever they arose. No indication was encountered, either in interviews with them or in official documents, that he had

> been actuated by any other motive than the desire to improve the material condition and prospects of his countrymen.[34]

In fact, the leadership provided by Esterhazy may be regarded as being most useful and convenient, so far as the colonists were concerned. He was not present among them to make possibly a nuisance of himself, yet he would be available for advice. Also, under these circumstances, his stature and image were growing to almost heroic proportions. This process was naturally promoted by the repeated efficacy of his advice and representation on their behalf. Not that they had not attempted other avenues — some English-speakers in the broader commmunity, particularly William Cosgrave, had been kind enough to write for them to Government authorities but, alas, without much effect. This the report ascribes to gaps in communication, due to the Hungarian settlers' poor command of the English language. In any case

> Those now in the Colony have been in the habit of submitting their difficulties to him, believing that his intercession with the Government will lead to relief that they cannot hope for as a result of direct appeal.[35]

Of course, the report very properly points out one of the more serious weaknesses as well in the immigration agent's intellectual make-up. This is his tendency to formulate, with the passage of time, "biased and unwar-

ranted views" concerning the apportioning of responsibility for past mistakes — in the present case, mistakes that had led to suffering on the part of the colonists. But the final summing up is clear and unequivocal:

> Count d'Esterhazy, in so far as his enterprise of settling these people is concerned, deserves their thanks and any consideration that our Department may find it possible to extend.

The reporting official was firmly convinced that Esterhazy's

> effort to establish them was prompted solely by a desire for the improvement of the condition of his countrymen.

He further adds, somewhat soberly, that

> in a minor degree, he had accomplished this [however] . . . greatly to their advantage, and with benefit also to the section of the territories in which his countrymen are resident.[36]

Even more direct and immediate evidence of Esterhazy's charisma and leadership among the colonists was to be forthcoming, prior to and during his visit to the Colony in connection with the collection of the source material for the pamphlet. Apart from everything else, this instance of his intervention, as has been shown above, was to result in the most significant development for the Colony since its establishment — the obtaining of a railway station and the founding of a real village. His presence at Esterhaz-Kaposvar also made possible the meeting of three notable persons in early Hungarian-Canadian history. Esterhazy sensed that his encounter with the Rev. Woodcutter was less than propitious. He did not record any opinion concerning the young Rev. Kovacsi. It is more than likely that Esterhazy's advice and opinion uttered to the other two community leaders during their respective discussions proved to be of more lasting importance to them. Both Woodcutter and Kovacsi were asked to contribute statements to Esterhazy's pamphlet, owing to the fact of their being spiritual and community leaders, whose words would have great corroborative value. Though both of them were clergymen, the two leaders were of contrasting temperament, and represented, in some respects, different values.

3. The Rev. Francis Woodcutter*

Certain aspects of leadership, both spiritual and practical, were provided by a succession of poor, modest and tireless priests in the early years of the Colony. Their common characteristics included selflessness and a desire to help, as well as varying degrees of ignorance of the Hungarian culture and character. This latter circumstance was gradually becoming more pronounced, with the arrival of prosperity in the years preceding Esterhazy's visit in 1902.

The young Woodcutter,[37] having originally arrived in Canada as Franz

*Also, in connection with pages 15-17 of the pamphlet.

Holzhacker (whose native tongue was German),[38] soon anglicized his name by simply translating it. Rev. Woodcutter refers, in his statement in the pamphlet, to the time of his immigration as being "twelve years ago" — that is, in 1890. His acquaintance with the Colony and his stay of eighteen months at Esterhaz derived from his work there from 1891 on as the first teacher at St. Istvan School.[39] It appears that he had a natural talent for languages — in addition to his native German, he could read sermons in English, French and Hungarian.[40]

The command of several languages usually indicates a high degree of persistence and determination as well, and the priest of Kaposvar possessed both of these qualities, along with a great deal of energy. Not only did he persuade his parishioners to build a new ten-room rectory of field-stone, but he himself participated in the hard manual labour of hauling the rocks with his team of horses. The parish was responsible for the payment of tradesmen and laborers.[41] In the first year of his stay at Kaposvar, that is, in 1900, the building was completed; in the second, the enlargement of the church (due to steady immigration) was carried out.[42] Yet, he had enough energy left to embark upon immigration work. By the time of Esterhazy's visit to the Colony, he had, indeed, earned the praise of the Commissioner of Immigration for his related work.[43]

Rev. Woodcutter's consistent efforts to improve the facilities of the parish and, at the same time, his own socio-economic standing, were leading to continual expense. Tension owing to this between the priest and the parishioners must have been further exacerbated through his immigration work. In any case, the Rev. Woodcutter had difficulties serious enough to prompt him to ask Esterhazy, who was staying with him while collecting material for his pamphlet at Esterhaz, to intercede on his behalf with the colonists. In Esterhazy's words,

> . . . tomorrow Sunday after Mass I am to speak again to the people and to ask them to yield to the priest's — Father Woodcutter's demands, — it's all money of course, he seems to be . . . determined to have his way in all things; but you know how headstrong and hasty the Huns can be if they wish to be so . . .[44]

The following day, the founder of the Colony was able to report to his wife complete success in the matter —

> I spoke in upholding the authority of the priest and the men unanimously agreed to obey him in *all things*. It was a triumph for me, for the good father was always defeated before in all his efforts to carry certain points of discipline of the Church.[45]

This was, of course, a victory for Esterhazy, but somewhat of a defeat for the priest, irrespective of the promise of obedience on the part of the parishioners. The effect of such an intervention could not have been very lasting.

In any case, he asked Esterhazy for another favour as well — the support in Ottawa of an application which he had forwarded.[46] The object of this application is not known. It could have been for a Commission for Taking Affidavits, to which Rev. Woodcutter was, in fact, appointed on September 30, 1902.[47] Or it might have been in connection with the acquisition by the priest of a most important piece of land — or, rather, a piece of land which had recently become significant with the arrival of the railway line to the vicinity of Esterhaz.

The quarter-section SE 28-19-1 had been abandoned on May 18, 1900 as being "low, subject to frost and not good for cultivation". It was purchased, however, for $480 by the Rev. Woodcutter on December 17, 1902. The patent concerning this land, dated January 23, 1903, was forwarded from Ottawa on February 9, 1903.[48] Examination of the sectional map at the end of the pamphlet already refers to F. Woodcutter as the owner and, even more significant, shows the quarter-section as the site of the new Esterhazy railway station. This circumstance is due to the fact that the related agreement of purchase must have been signed on June 14, 1902, because the Kaposvar priest was expected to pay interest on the purchase price, beginning on that date.[49]

It is not unreasonable to assume that Esterhazy did find out from the President of the CPR the exact location of the future railway station of Esterhaz, as suggested by J. A. Smart,[50] and that he promptly advised the priest and possibly several other leading members of the Colony. No evidence has been found to indicate that Father Woodcutter was indeed carrying out this transaction in behalf and for the sake of his community. Esterhazy's support of the above-mentioned application could by all means have been for the patent of this land. In view of the fast development of Esterhazy village around the railway station and mainly on the land in question, the considerable increase in the value could not escape attention.

At this stage, Rev. Woodcutter was becoming more active in organizing immigration. In the fall of 1902, he was preparing for the arrival of large numbers of immigrants to Township 20, Range 2, immediately north-east of the future Stockholm station.[51]

It is a fact that Esterhazy, while collecting the material for the pamphlet in the Colony, still had high hopes for employment with the Department of the Interior as an immigration agent. He was making plans and submissions regarding this expectation. There is no trace of any indication that he was preparing the pamphlet in order to make immigration publicity for Rev. Woodcutter. However, after his return from Esterhaz to the East at the end of July, he was apparently asked to make clear in the pamphlet to would-be immigrants that the priest of Kaposvar had become the adviser of immigrants to Esterhaz Colony. This must have been a severe shock to Esterhazy, an indirect announce-

ment that he was regarded as too old and decrepit to be of much use to the Department of the Interior in the future. This action in fact meant that the Rev. Woodcutter would be accorded the fruits of all of Esterhazy's endeavours: the settling of the thousands who would arrive, attracted by his pamphlet and reputation, if not on *his* land, yet on land reserved by *him*, in the area secured by *him*. He did not have a good opinion of the priest; he could not see in him the qualities required of a good immigration agent. Esterhazy was too conservative to accept the proposition that priesthood and business could be compatible in the same person. Perhaps the pun resulting from the substitution of the word *telkesz* ('real-estate agent') for *lelkesz* ('priest') in the caption below the picture on page 14 of the Hungarian version was a subconscious or perhaps intentional expression of his opinion.[32]

Indeed, being an immigration and settling agent could not be described as a sinecure — apart from the great amount of work required, trouble was almost always nearby hovering, as it were, on the horizon. Thus, possibly on the initiative of government authorities, Father Woodcutter's name received unwelcome attention in newspapers in Hungary in July, 1903,[33] in order perhaps to discredit him as the immigration functionary named in the pamphlet.

In November, 1903, Esterhazy, when he already knew that his engagement with the CPR would terminate at the end of the year, made an application to James A. Smart for an Immigration Agency in the United States which, however, was not successful.[34] Upon the receipt of the refusal Esterhazy exploded in a letter mixing bitter disappointment, personal frustration and deep anxiety for the future of Hungarian immigration to Canada.

He took the Deputy Minister to task for his alleged statement to the President of the CPR, which Esterhazy assumed had led to the loss of his work. Moreover, he thought that Smart's action could have been prompted by an

> . . . evil-minded person whose jealous and grasping propensities are so well known and appreciated in the Esterhaz Colony that in spite of his position his ignominious expulsion therefrom may be regarded only a question of time.[35]

Three weeks later, Esterhazy went even further and made a bitter attack on the Rev. Woodcutter by name, also thereby rebuking Smart:

> Your statement about settlers direct from Hungary confirms the correctness of a report now current in the Colony of your Department having deputed or being about to send the Rev. Woodcutter to Hungary as properly accredited Government Immigration Agent.

Could not Smart realize the consequences of his choice? The man selected possessed little authority with Hungarians. Esterhazy goes on to state reasons for his opinion with devastating bluntness, yet, it must

be added in the light of the facts, with considerable exaggeration. He interprets his intervention in the priest's behalf in July, 1902, as saving him from expulsion "by his own indignant parishioners". He had made an error in endorsing Woodcutter in the pamphlet, and thinks it a pity that it is too late to have his endorsement "expunged from the pages". The priest's command of Hungarian is insufficient

> to captivate the mind of the Hungarians to inspire confidence . . . his personal appearance seems also to be against him. He is not the man I should have ever recommended to your Department to be sent on so important a mission.[56]

The Department of the Interior apparently did not take too much notice of Esterhazy's views in this matter. So, he contacted the highest forum available to him. His letter to the Governor-General draws attention to Woodcutter's "Esterhazy Land Company" and his circular "The New Town of Esterhazy", and to the fact that he is currently on a trip in Europe as a Canadian Immigration Agent. In order to lay a greater stress on the incompatibility of these activities with the office of a priest, Esterhazy adds impressively:

> The parishioners desire the presence of their spiritual director *at the Altar,* and they seem to be disheartened to find him with the money-changers. I have pleaded for him in the past, — but can do no more in the matter.[57]

No known harm came from the Governor-General to the Rev. Woodcutter, but the latter resigned his position as priest and joined the immigration office in Winnipeg in February, 1905.[58] Soon, he was referred to officially by the Commissioner of Immigration as "Officer Woodcutter", and his name did not appear in the directory of the Roman Catholic clergy in 1906.[59] However, in the following year, he gave up his work as an immigration agent, and returned to his priestly duties.

Whether the Rev. Woodcutter's motives in taking up immigration work were primarily humanitarian or financial does not change his importance as the settling agent for several significant Hungarian-Canadian settlements, including Stockholm and Lestock. Irrespective of Esterhazy's later conviction that the priest's name should not have been included in the pamphlet, Woodcutter's name became widely known through the pamphlet, which then enabled him to replace Esterhazy, at least for a while, in the eyes of both the Canadian immigration authorities and the Hungarian immigrants, as the adviser in immigration matters.

4. The Rev. Kalman Kovacsi and Bekevar[60]

Kovacsi's statement in the pamphlet constitutes quite a useful primary source in regard to his views, outlook and type of leadership, as well as to some aspects of the early history of the Colony Bekevar (some sixty miles southwest of Esterhaz-Kaposvar), of which Kovacsi was a

pioneer. Kovacsi must have been asked to prepare this statement prior to July 16, which is the date of the completion of the document. It is likely that the statement was delivered on Tuesday, July 22 to Esterhazy, who gives the following account in a letter to his wife, of the same date:

> I had to give all day yesterday and this morning to about 20 Hungarians who followed me here from the Colony. The Protestant Clergyman of the Colony, Mr. Kovacsy, left me just now after a lengthy talk.[61]

Kálmán Kovácsi (1873-1931) was a most influential person in the establishment of the settlement later known as Bekevar and referred to in the related pages of the pamphlet as Hazelwood. Kovacsi had not been an immigrant in the narrow sense of the word. In actual fact, he had been chosen in Hungary at the request of Dr. James Robertson, Superintendent of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, by the Theological Academy of Debrecen, the 'Calvinist Rome' of Hungary. Dr. Robertson had been looking for missionaries of Hungarian background to cater to the spiritual needs of the Hungarian Reformed settlers in what later became Saskatchewan. Having been selected, Kalman Kovacsi arrived at Hazelwood on October 3, 1901. He was ordained at Fleming, Northwest Territories on June 22, 1903, after having carried out further theological studies at the Manitoba College in Winnipeg. Since there was no church as yet, he preached in the homes of the settlers. He left Bekevar on December 27, 1910, when he was transferred to Otthon, Saskatchewan.[62] Kovacsi had literary ambitions, and was a poet of some reputation, writing poems on festive and other occasions. He was an idealist, who tended at times to adhere even too rigidly to his ideals.

The missionary, whose English in 1902 was still rather shaky, appears to have submitted his statement for inclusion in the pamphlet in the Hungarian language. Probably owing also to his poetical and rhetorical tendencies, there are considerable differences between the texts of the English and Hungarian versions of the pamphlet. Thus, lines 8-10 of the English text do not appear at all in the Hungarian version. The Hungarian text makes reference to the fact that the Hungarians are scattered over a broad area, and that the idea of bringing them closer to each other seems already to be taking shape. The entire first paragraph is translated differently. One such instance is: "there is plenty of good water . . . within easy reach of their homesteads" — which, translated in the original sense, would read: "good water is easily found in the settlements under my supervision". Then, the third paragraph in the Hungarian version asserts:

> cattle raising most profitable, with very little effort, is very advantageous, because the animals can graze without limit on the luscious growth of huge pastures and, besides, even a thousand cartloads of hay may be gathered free for the winter, which is colder than the one in Hungary. However, with the progress of agriculture in the wake of which the warmth-producing soil is being broken up

with great determination, the climate is continually growing milder. The winter lasts from November to May . . .

Most of this has been omitted from the English version. It is obvious that the writer of the English text is not the originator of the text of Kovacsi's letter, but, rather, the translator. In fact, he very skillfully reduces to excellent terse English prose the somewhat verbose poetical sentences of the Presbyterian missionary. Esterhazy is evidently intent on avoiding some of the exaggerations made by the poet-clergyman, particularly when they are of the factual type, e.g., that "industrious settlers may put $900.00 (4,500 koronas, the Austro-Hungarian equivalent) in their pockets every year".

As to the lack of success on the part of some of the settlers, Kovacsi points to incontinence and levity, while Esterhazy refers more tactfully to "some faults" of their own. The Hungarian text also refers to a huge crop of cucumbers, and other vegetables and produce; it claims "a wheat harvest unparalleled in world history." When mentioning the construction of the new railway, the missionary refers to it as such. Esterhazy speaks about "the new branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway", while Kovacsi draws attention to both the quickening of transport and the reduced suffering of the horses that, up to that date (and long after), had to make trips of 30-35 miles, even on steep roads and in very cold temperatures. The immigration agent finds it sufficient to make reference only to "the very great importance" and the "incalculable advantages" of the railway to the settlers. The Hungarian version discloses that the sites of four railway stations and several towns had already been surveyed, and that large tracts of the best land had been reserved for Hungarians.

With regard to schools, there is a considerable difference in wording between the two. The English version simply states that

> there are now several schools in the Colony where the English language and other useful 'object lessons'[63] are taught by teachers appointed by the government.

The Hungarian contains a more pregnant point: "The schools are mixed and, at present, instruction takes place in them only in English as yet." Patently, Kovacsi suggests at this stage the possibility or rather the likelihood, of Hungarian as well becoming the language of teaching in the schools of the Colony. It is interesting to notice that the settlers in 1902 were not yet obliged to pay, apart from a school tax, any taxes. According to Esterhazy, two-thirds (in the opinion of Kovacsi 70%) of the teachers' pay was provided by the government. Kovacsi looked after Hungarians of the Faith, and held church services in the "Bohemian Schoolhouse" at Esterhaz.[64]

The minister, of course, takes care to say something about his own Colony, which was then still called Hazelwood.[65] Forty reformed Hun-

garian families lived there in *"great peace"*, says Kovacsi. The stress is probably on peace. Is this statement the foreshadowing of the fact that the Colony will shortly be renamed *Bekevar* ('fortress of peace')?[66] In any case, only Esterhazy's version speaks of the renaming. The Hungarian text merely says that "this Colony will soon be organized into a regular church and post office with a Hungarian name".

Kovacsi makes a point of comparing the landscape of the future Bekevar to that of the Great Hungarian Plains. The English version mentions the *Banat*, the southernmost portion of the Great Hungarian Plains, whose qualities have already been extolled by Esterhazy — there was also a forest nearby.[67] Broadview, some 22-24 miles away, was indeed the place of delivery for the produce of the Hungarian farmers of Bekevar. The quick growth of Broadview's population after 1902 reflected the rate of immigration to the area south of it. Its importance was later to be reduced to some extent through the emergence of Kipling as a major competitor.[68]

It is not directly asserted that these farmers were already prosperous. However, that impression results mainly from the example of John Szabo who, having settled there in the fall of 1900, had already 90 acres under crop. In other words, he had broken up 90 acres of the virgin prairie, no mean achievement, in not quite two years. He was also in the process of erecting a new home, and the quality of his home excited most favourable comments. Kovacsi emphasizes the fact that Szabo had arrived at Hazelwood without any cash. But, on the other hand, Szabo had his animals — three horses, two cows and seven oxen — which must have meant for him quite an investment over and above the payment for the fares of his rather large family.[69]

Apart from anything else, the omission of certain portions of Kovacsi's Hungarian statement also indicates the great contrast between Esterhazy's half-a-century adjustment to his Anglo-Saxon environment and Kovacsi's great degree of 'alienness' to it. Thus, substantial parts of Kovacsi's paper tend to reveal the general attitudes and lack of orientation in the new country of the Hungarian settlers.

But Kovacsi, the missionary, better understands, and obviously regards it as part of his 'mission' to allay certain feelings of guilt in the minds of would-be emigrants:

> . . . if the Hungarian who, in his Old Country already being reduced to beggary or working as a despised serf in spite of all his industry, immigrates here with tears in his eyes and carrying a handful of Magyar soil, he does not act wrongly or ungratefully.[70]

Esterhazy's version does not take notice of the potential clash between conflicting emotions of prospective emigrants.[71]

Esterhazy thinks it sufficient merely to mention Louis Kossuth and Budapest. Kovacsi is much more permeated by the myth of the nation

and the by-then legendary leader. Every Hungarian is proud, asserts Kovacsi, of the Magyar genius embodied, as it were, in Lajos Kossuth[72] at the personal level and, in Budapest, as the objective expression of national achievement. As a result of Kossuth's great deeds, "everlasting glory" is accorded to both the name 'Magyar' and the Hungarian nation. This process is exemplified also in the United States, where numerous cities and streets bear Kossuth's "immortal name".[73]

5. The Three Community Leaders

There were numerous differences — temperamental, intellectual and theological — between the two clergymen-leaders, the Reverends Woodcutter and Kovacsi. The priest was settled, level-headed and practical, and as a person possessed a high degree of determination. Not being a pugnacious type, he always preferred a compromise to open conflict. Whatever natural talent he lacked, he usually made up for with sheer hard work; thus, his personality was anything but colourful. He did his best to acquire the Hungarian language, and learned a great many facts about Hungary and Hungarians; but, in spite of his first-class leadership in external matters, he simply failed to tune in on the emotional wave lengths of his Hungarian-Canadian parishioners.

The Presbyterian missionary — in fact, a true-born member of the Hungarian Reformed (Calvinist) Church — had inherited in his blood and through his education the high ideals of mid-nineteenth century Hungarian liberalism. Hardly a man of compromise, he was always ready to stand up and fight intellectually for his principles and convictions. He was a fiery speaker, one who could carry away his audience with his emotion-laden speech. As a man of strong character, he could make friends and enemies with equal ease. His good qualities did not include either an interest in, or a sense for, practical matters. His great *forte* in leadership, both at Esterhaz-Kaposvar and at the future Bekevar, was constituted by his Hungarian cultural background and by his natural gift for public speaking. It is likely that Kovacsi's occasional visits to the Colony were enhancing Woodcutter's difficulties. Even if the missionary were not to speak, which was in any case most unlikely, with Roman Catholic colonists about his beloved Kossuth, about the evil nature of the Compromise of 1867 with Austria and about topical news from the old country, his very presence could not but have the effect of a silent reminder to the parish of the possibility of obtaining a Hungarian priest.

Unlike Woodcutter, who kept on improving his mastery of English to such an extent that from 1909 he could serve an English-speaking parish,[74] Kovacsi's command of the language did not reach the degree that would have enabled him effectively to represent the views or interests of Hungarian-Canadians to government authorities. Of course, at the time of Esterhazy's visit to the Colony in July, 1902, Kovacsi had spent

as little time as ten months in Canada.[75] Besides, the size of his congregation at Esterhaz-Kaposvar was dwarfed by that of the Roman Catholic parish. Notwithstanding, his influence as a community leader cannot be discounted, even if that leadership in the Colony tended to be informal, indirect and hardly perceptible at the time. However, Kovacsi was destined, through his literary inclinations and past experiences as a journalist in Hungary, to become most influential in every Hungarian-Canadian settlement through the Hungarian-language newspapers *Kanadai Magyarsag* and *A Kanadai Magyar Farmer* in the decade after 1904.

The impact of Esterhazy's last visit to the Colony was widespread owing to both his leadership and his image, as well as to the practical results for the Colony of his intervention with high decision-makers. His success in the matter is to be ascribed to the force of his personality and charm, to his education and cultural background, to his will-power and ability to manage people, to his manners and appearance consistent with his assumed title and, most of all, to his superb command of spoken and written English.

Several traits in Kovacsi's personality appear very similar to those characterizing Esterhazy. Both of them were prone to impulsiveness and ideal romanticism; neither of them was entirely at home in the world of reality; both possessed a certain degree of personal charisma, and neither could attain more than momentary success as an individual. Finally, both of them harboured deep respect and a glowing affection for Kossuth and his ideals.[76] Therefore, it is not surprising that they should have retained each other in their memories in the years to come.

Thus, Esterhazy built up closer contact with the *Kanadai Magyar Farmer*, Winnipeg in the last few years of his life. Kalman Kovacsi was the chief correspondent-contributor and his brother, Lajos, the editor. It was the Kovacsi brothers to whom Esterhazy addressed some of his very last letters. Interestingly enough, his last but one letter, dated August 21, 1912, was written in English because, as its author explained, he could express himself in this language with greater ease.[77] Yet he ended the letter with a Hungarian sentence, the equivalent in Hungarian of "Nothing succeeds like success", and then "Eljen a Magyar" ('Cheer the Magyar'). In other words, he quoted his own proverbial dictum from the pamphlet (p. 7), and attached to it the concluding phrase of the dedication (p.3). These two sayings probably expressed two of his guiding principles, the first pointing out that the only real means of succeeding is success itself. This may be a reference to an elusive aim of his own, which he could often sight but never really attain. The second phrase, in the context of the English-language letter, perhaps implied the paradox of the immigrant as such: the strange ways of assimilation and its step-brother, alienation.

A newspaper article, which in fact constituted an obituary of

Esterhazy, projected Esterhazy's popular image as only such a kindred spirit as Kalman Kovacsi could see it.[78] Esterhazy was a fighter who had undergone a number of conflicts. As the founder of the first and largest Hungarian settlement in Canada, he deserved gratitude from the Hungarians, as it was he who provided home and progress for Hungarians in Canada. Esterhazy did this, not for material gain but at the request of and for the sake of his compatriots. He continued, almost to his very last day, to defend their interests through his government contacts in Ottawa. His poverty could be regarded as evidence of his altruistic and humanitarian motives. The Kovacsis suggested that a day of mourning should be set aside as a sign of appreciation for the founder of the Hungarian-Canadian settlements.[79]

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Esterhazy's related statement on pp. 9-10 of the pamphlet, and the ann. to them.
[2] The following note was sent by A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister, DI, to Joseph Pope, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Ottawa, September 28, 1886: "My dear Pope, — This will introduce to you Count Paul O. d'Esterhazy whom you met in the Northwest, and who as you are aware is the chief promoter of a Hungarian colony now being successfully established in the Qu'Appelle Valley. Kindly facilitate his seeing Sir John, upon whom he calls by invitation . . ." ("Macdonald Papers", vol. 193, p. 80423, PAC). There is a card enclosed, inscribed: "Count P. Oscar d'Esterhazy" (*ibid.*, p. 80425). Esterhazy had already been given numerous letters of introduction in 1885, such as that supplied by William Cornelius Van Horne, Vice President, CPR for the immigration agent to J. McTavish, Land Commissioner, Winnipeg on May 29, 1885, in which he refers to the Hungarian colonization scheme as one "which both the Department of Agriculture and we are interested in seeing brought to a practical issue . . ." ("W. C. Van Horne's Letterbooks", Letterbook 11, pp. 677-678, PAC).
[3] Huns Valley, Manitoba was established in August, 1885 in Township 16, Range 16, West 1st Meridian (Count P. O. Esterhazy, "Report", *SP*, No. 12, 1887, p. 239). In 1887, of the seventeen names listed as homesteaders, four or five appear to have been Hungarian (A. F. Eden, "Report", *SP*, No. 4, 1888, pp. 160-61).
[4] Cf. *SP*, No. 12, 1887, p. 238.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 240. See also, for instance, W. C. Van Horne's letter to John Lowe, Secretary, DA, Montreal, January 10, 1887 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 20, F 57429).
[6] P. O. Esterhazy to J. Lowe, Fordham, N.Y., December 17, 1886 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 517, F 57040). See also Lowe's letter to H. H. Smith, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, February 23, 1887 (RG 17, vol. 1558, p. 216).
[7] Geza S. de Dory reported on December 15, 1887 that he found twelve of the houses abandoned, but eight newly-arrived families took possession of the vacant cottages (*SP*, No. 4, 1888, p. 176).
[8] See, for instance, *SP*, No. 12, 1887, p. 241. By 1902 the population of the Colony was estimated by Esterhazy as some 900 souls (cf. ann. to p. 13 of the pamphlet).
[9] See, for instance, A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister, DI to H. H. Smith, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg — Ottawa, October 4, 1894 (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 215, F 350644); and, in connection with the pamphlet, April 7, 1902 (RG 15, B-1a, Vol. 104, F 90895/2, No. 690 467).
[10] For instance, the publication of Esterhazy's promotion: "Mr. J. B. de Packh, to be 1st Lieut. and Adj't." in the Grahamstown Volunteer Rifle Corps, *Grahamstown Gazette*, No. 3222, February 12, 1861 (POEP MEM, No. 11, clipping from the original gazette).
[11] POEP MEM, No. 22—. No such documentary evidence has been preserved among Esterhazy's papers.
[12] POEP Photographs Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 15, bearing the name and address of the photographer: L. Strelisky, 11 Dorottya utcza ('street') in Pest; No. 6 is signed: "Paul O. d'Esterhazy" and No. 15 "Gfin (='Countess') Isola Esterhazy Pesth 1867".
[13] POEP MEM, No. 24.

[14] Paul Oscar Esterhazy filed his intention to become a citizen of the United States with the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York on January 27, 1868 (POEP MEM, No. 25-b).

[15] As to the use of "Count" in newspaper items see, for instance, *Times and Dispatch* (Reading, Pennsylvania), July 19, 1887; *New York Times*, November 14, 1881, and so on. *The Star* (New York), April 7, 1900 also refers to him as 'Count Paul Esterhazy', when writing on the early history of Laurel Hill; it makes mention of the one-time 85 pupils of the school, which Esterhazy had organized and at which he had taught in his spare time free of charge, who would still call him "Mr. Count".

[16] RG 15, B-1a, vol. 174, F 225 309, January 17, 1890.

[17] *Loc. cit.*

[18] February 23, 1887 (RG 17, vol. 1558, p. 216).

[19] The *Winnipeg Daily Times*, July 22, 1885.

[20] "Der falsche Graf Esterhazy" ("The fake Esterhazy"), *Fremden-Blatt*, Vienna, July 24, 1885 (cf. RG 17, I-1, vol. 451, No. 49253). More correctly, 'Johann Baptist Packh' was indeed P. O. Esterhazy's original name. This same conclusion has been reached recently also by G. V. Dojcsak ("The Mysterious Count Esterhazy", *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 26, 1973, pp. 63-72).

[21] Fordham, New York, July 23, 1885 (RG 17, vol. 448, No. 48870).

[22] To J. Lowe, Fordham, New York, May 25, 1887 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 537, No. 59770).

[23] Lowe to Esterhazy, September 3, 1885 (RG 17, vol. 1552, pp. 16-17).

[24] D. W. Riedl of Winnipeg, the settling agent of several German colonies in the North West Territories, hastened to inform John Lowe that Esterhazy was unmasked by both the *Staatszeitung of Illinois*, Chicago and the *Volkszeitung* of St. Paul, on January 1, 1887, as being a swindler whose real name was "John B. Path" January 8, 1887 (RG 17, I-1, vol. 517, No. 57495). The same information was forwarded to H. H. Smith, Commissioner of Dominion Lands by Henry C. Jacobsen, Government Intelligence Officer, Winnipeg, with the additional point that the source of the story was actually an item in the *Oestreich-Amerikanisch Zeitung* ("Austrian-American Gazette"), published in Vienna and New York. "Johan B. Path" was the spelling of the name in this instance (Winnipeg, January 7, 1887, RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, No. 138 934).

[25] To H. H. Smith, Ottawa, February 23, 1887 (RG 17, vol. 1558, p. 216).

[26] ". . . he [Esterhazy] was successful in founding the settlement Esterhaz. The Departmental inspections showed that his work was well done . . ." (RG 15, B-1a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, No. 695 016).

[27] POEP LS, Ottawa, July 4, 1902.

[28] Lack of success in the case of individual farmers from Britain was attributed to two classes of "incapables" by Shortt — in the first place, those of whom nothing else could be said but that "they are specimens of humanity", and in the second, those who had been used to urban settlements and were, when on the prairies, "almost as helpless as a limb severed from the body". He could not but feel that "it was a shame to have lured such people out into the wilderness to make shipwrecks of their lives" (Adam Shortt, "Some Observations on the Great North West", *Queen's Quarterly*, 1894, pp. 183-197). Many of the early homesteaders, whether from Eastern Canada or from the United States or elsewhere, were simply speculators who sought to take advantage of the weaknesses of the free homestead system (Chester Martin, *"Dominion Lands" Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973, pp. 151 ff). As to the mortality rate among colonization companies and the reasons for it, see, pp. 240-247.

[29] A newspaper reporter from Hungary found Zboray at the Hungarian settlement of Arpadhon, Louisiana in 1914. Zboray and several other ex-settlers of the Esterhaz Colony had established Arpadhon. Incidentally, he and his wife edited, printed and published a Hungarian-language newspaper, the *"Árpádhoni Kertészlap"* ("The Arpadhon Gardeners' News") at the time — Árpád Pásztor, *Amerika, Kanadától Panamáig* ("America, from Canada to Panama"), Budapest: Világirodalom, 1924, pp. 230-237. See also ann. to p. 37.

[30] Ö Paizs, *Magyarok Kanadában* ("Hungarians in Canada"), Budapest; Athenaeum, n.d. (1927), p. 174.

[31] J. Ruzsa, *A Kanadai Magyarság Története* ("The History of Canadian Hungarians"), Toronto: Published by the author, 1940, pp. 91, 12. Incidentally, certain legends (without being identified as such) are recorded, in regard to the founding of the Esterhaz Colony, on the same page (p. 12). The first group of immigrants arrives as late as July, 1886 (instead of June), and they are led *also* by Lord Mount Stephen, in addition to P. O. Esterhazy, to the station of Whitewood, Saskatchewan; they establish the first settlement, and name it Kaposvar. Of course, apart from anything else, neither the President of

the CPR, nor the District Assiniboia, were to have their names changed until several years later. Also, the name Kaposvar was not to come into circulation for some time yet.

[32] The 'confidential' letter of A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister, DI, to H. H. Smith, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg of October 4, 1894 (F 350 644, RG 15, B 1-a, vol. 215) could hardly have been more biased against Esterhazy, nor more suggestive as to how to silence him by a 'properly' worded report. Burgess took it upon himself to assure, in person, the Secretary of the Governor-General that "the Count has had no connection with the Colony for years", and to express his conviction that "the people there would not regard him [Esterhazy] as a representative of their views". Burgess' objective is clear, "if we were in a position to say that this is the case," Arthur Gordon, the Governor-General's Secretary, would be enabled" to close the correspondence finally." The Deputy Minister, of course, was quite aware that "to get such an expression of opinion as this from the parties" was, to say the least, "a somewhat delicate matter", but perhaps "some trusted man" from Smith's office might accomplish the task personally in the Colony. It was probably the reading of similar records that had prompted Andrew A. Marchbin to assume the existence of anti-Esterhazy activities of a "western political clique" (cf. "Early Emigration from Hungary to Canada", *Slavonic Review*, 1934, pp. 136-7).

[33] Confidential Report by R. A. Ruttan, Assistant Secretary, Office of the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, October 19, 1894 (F 350644, RG 15, B 1-a, vol. 215).

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] It seems to be beyond doubt that Woodcutter's whole statement was first written in English, and that the Hungarian version therefore constitutes a translation. This is indicated by several instances of mis-translation. Thus, the first line of the second last paragraph, when re-translated into English, would read: "Apart from Churches and schools, our people does not bear any burden." — Similarly, the retranslation of the last three lines on p. 17 would result in the following confused sentence: "It will serve as introduction for very many new settlers, who arriving here may take delight in the blissful building lots of those Hungarians who . . .".

[38] Cf. R. R. Frank Gerein, *Outline History of the Archdiocese of Regina*, Regina: Chancery Office, 1961, p. 175.

[39] Santha mentions (SLE SPAR VI, p. 2) that the future Rev. Woodcutter was a teacher at the school for a year and a half before entering his training for the priesthood. The first meeting of the trustees of St. Istvan School took place on December 15, 1890, and the school was officially established at the end of the same month (*North-West Territories Gazette*, January 1, 1891). Young Woodcutter could not take up his position before mid-March of 1891 at best (depending on the weather), but it is more likely that he did so at the beginning of the school year 1891-92. In the first case, he must have left Esterhaz in mid-1892; in the second, at the end of 1892. As he died in 1945 (cf. Gerein, *op. cit.*, p. 267), it is probable that he was in his twenties on his arrival in 1890.

[40] Cf. SLE SPAR VI, p. 1. And, concerning his mastery of the Hungarian language, see *Kanadai Magyarsag*, September 4, 1908.

[41] SLK SPAR, p. 23. Also, see ann. to p. 14.

[42] ". . . last year with the help of Almighty we built the present new priest's house; this year we enlarged our church . . ." (*Address of Homage* from the Kaposvar Parish to His Grace L. P. A. Langevin, Archbishop of St. Boniface, August 14, 1901, drafted probably by the Rev. Woodcutter, Parish Records, Rectory, Esterhazy, Saskatchewan).

[43] "I must acknowledge the kind and valued assistance of Rev. Father Woodcutter . . ." (Report of J. Obed Smith, Commissioner of Immigration, *SP*, No. 25, 1902, for the year ending on June 30, 1901, p. 120).

[44] POEP LS, to his wife, Esterhaz, July 19, 1902.

[45] POEP LS, Esterhaz Colony, July 20, 1902.

[46] POEP LS, to his wife, Montreal, July 29, 1902.

[47] *North-West Territories Gazette*, October 15, 1902, p. 2.

[48] HF DI 521832.

[49] *Loc. cit.*

[50] See II fn. 49.

[51] Report to the Surveyor General, Grenfell, Saskatchewan, November 19, 1902. The survey of the township was renewed, "at the special request of Rev. Mr. Woodcutter . . ." (DI 739416, Dominion Land Surveys I, 14-30, SPAR).

[52] See ann. to p. 14.

[53] The letter and complaints of five disappointed immigrants to the Colony were published

in detail in the July 22, 1903 issues of, for instance, the *Budapesti Hirlap* and the *Hazánk*. Rev. Woodcutter was accused in the articles of misrepresentation, underhanded dealing and the breaking of the laws of Hungary. The matter also entailed an official protest to Ottawa through the Austrian-Hungarian Consul in Montreal. An attempt was also made in the Hungarian Parliament to reduce Esterhazy's credibility and, thus, his attraction as immigration agent for would-be clients by making him appear ridiculous. One of the better known representatives alleged in a speech of his that Esterhazy's real name was "Mór Grün", a typically Jewish name in Hungary. The House responded "with broad smiles both on the left and on the right." (Session 172, December 16, 1902, *The Minutes of the House of Representatives, The Parliament Summoned on October 24, 1901*, Budapest: Athenaeum, 1903, vol. 10, p. 72 — in Hungarian).

[54] Esterhazy to J. A. Smart, November 21, 1903 (RG 76, vol. 20, F337. No. 285214), and J. A. Smart to Esterhazy, November 30, 1903 (*ibid.*, No. 285214).

[55] Esterhazy to J. A. Smart, Deputy Minister, DI, December 21, 1903 (RG 76, vol. 20, F337, No. 290639). It is clear from the latter part of the quotation that Esterhazy's contact with the settlers of the Colony had been strengthened by his visit in the summer of 1902.

[56] Esterhazy's confidential letter to J. A. Smart, January 13, 1904 (RG 76, vol. 20, F337, No. 291782).

[57] Esterhazy to the Governor General (Earl of Minto 1898 — September, 1904), March 28, 1904 (RG 15, B 1-a, vol. 104, F 90895/2, p. 26).

[58] P. Santha, *Three Generations*, p. 43.

[59] Report of the Commissioner of Immigration, J. Obed Smith, DI, *SP* No. 25, 1906, p. 100 — *Canadian Almanac and Miscellaneous Directory for the Year 1906*, Toronto: Copp Clark Company. Already, J. Pirot's name is listed for Kaposvar (p. 322); Woodcutter's name does not appear at all.

[60] In connection with pages 19-22 in the pamphlet.

[61] POEP LS, July 22, 1902.

[62] Cf. *KMU*, July 19-21, 1925.

[63] One may wonder whether Esterhazy had any more intimate knowledge of the the object lesson so dear to the Froebelian and Herbartian educationists of the time, or whether he applied the term merely because it sounded good in the context.

[64] "Esterhaz" — and, since May 30, 1902 — the "Kolin" Protestant School, No. 138 of the North-West Territories — cf. *The North-West Territories Gazette*, May 31, 1902, p. 7.

[65] "Rural Municipality of Hazelwood No. 94", including approximately Townships 10, 11 and 12, Ranges 4, 5, and 6, covers much of the Bekevar area south of Kipling.

[66] Apparently, Janos Szabo was the person who suggested the name. 'Bekevar' has a two-fold meaning in Hungarian: if 'var' is used as a noun, it means 'fortress'; if used as a verb, it means 'awaits'. While in the former case, the two words signify 'fortress of peace', in the latter they stand for 'peace awaits (you)' — cf. *KMU*, July 19-21, 1925. See also footnote 69 below.

[67] Now the Moose Mountain Provincial Park south-east of Bekevar. As to *Banat*, see ann. to p. 8 of the pamphlet.

[68] One English mile is 1.6093 kilometers, constituting *one-fifth* (and *not* one-fourth) of a Hungarian mile, which is equal to 8.3536 kilometers. Broadview's population of 230 in 1904 grew to 600 in 1907, and reached 1,000 in 1921; cf. *Henderson's Man. & N.W.T. Gazetteer and Directory*, vols. 23 (1904), p. 113; vol. 24 (1907), p. 155; also, *Wrigley's Saskatchewan Directory*, vol. 1 (1921-1922), p. 105.

[69] John Szabo (1852-1925), one of the founders of the Bekevar Colony, was also a community leader for a long time. His relatives, the Szabos, the Szakacs and the Izsaks were connected and held together by their respect for John Szabo, and constituted a most important social group within Bekevar. — See also footnote 65 above.

[70] This is the literal translation of the fourth paragraph from the top on page 22 of the Hungarian version.

[71] Esterhazy's more elegant statement places emphasis on economic inducements — second paragraph from the bottom, page 21.

[72] Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894), one of the greatest social, economic and political reformers of modern Hungary, rose from a poor law student to become the foremost leader of the War of Independence against the Austrian Empire in 1848 and regent of Hungary in 1849. Being a prolific writer and a most effective public speaker, he succeeded in establishing himself as a 'hero' of the people, one whose cult amongst the Magyar peasantry nearly approached the semblance of worship. Later on, he became the living symbol of unremitting resistance to the Compromise, in 1867, of the Hungarians with the Habsburg dynasty. However, a major error of judgment of his government, in not attempting to provide acceptable terms for co-operation with nationalities within the historical bound-

aries of Hungary, came to poison relations with these nationalities and ultimately to lead to catastrophe.

[73] Kovacsi was instrumental in actively spreading the Kossuth cult in the future Bekevar. In fact, as the secretary of the first school there, he played an important role in having its designation changed to 'Kossuth'. Its original name had been "the Bekevar School District No. 940 of the North-West Territories" — the next designation became "The Kossuth School District No. 940 of the North-West Territories" (*The North-West Territories Gazette*, January 15, 1904 and August 17, 1905).

[74] In 1909, he functioned as Chaplain of the St. Boniface Cathedral, which is also consistent with reference to him as secretary to the Archbishop of St. Boniface (*Canadian Almanac and Miscellaneous Directory for the Year 1909*, Toronto: Copp Clark Company). Then he served, from 1909 to 1916, as the priest of St. Joseph's Parish, Moose Jaw, Sask. (Frank Gerein, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9).

[75] Kovacsi's letter, Bekevar, December 7, 1903, directed to the North-West Territories Department of Education, still had to be translated by Imre Pinke, whose English was far from being flawless (Document 27459, No. 948, SPAR).

[76] P. O. Esterhazy's feelings about Kossuth are adequately disclosed in a Letter to the Editor, dated May 23, 1900, signed by him and published in *The Star* (New York), May 26, 1900:

> "Louis Kossuth's sublimity of character, of patriotism, of thought and eloquence has no parallel in the biographies of heroes who championed the sacred cause of liberty . . . Our heart is thrilled when we read of Kosciusko, Rienci (!), Washington, Mazzini, Garibaldi and other great men of immortal renown . . . But their glory pales by contrast with what history reveals to us of Louis Kossuth, and of the cause of Hungary which he faithfully espoused even unto death, in exile, I may say here."

This quotation is, at the same time, a fair sample both of Esterhazy's romantic style and of his erudition. His choice of heroes with whom to enhance Kossuth's greatness seems indicative of Esterhazy's liberal republican convictions. He included in his list: Thadeus Kosciusko (1746-1817) who, after having fought against the partition of Poland as a general, joined Washington's army in the American Revolution; Cola di Rienzi (1313-1354), who attempted reforms in late-medieval Rome; George Washington (1732-1799), who was in command of the continental army and who became the first president of the United States; Guiseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), one of the Romantic fighters for the unification of Italy; and Guiseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), a liberal republican hero of the wars fought for the freeing of Italy.

[77] Unfortunately, the letter has not survived, but its contents are included in the article of the *CMF*.

[78] *Canadai Magyar Farmer*, October 11, 1912. The importance attributed to Esterhazy's leadership by the Kovacsis and their readers is also revealed by the fact that the obituary and related appreciation take up most of the first page of the paper.

[79] The fact that the article nowhere refers to him as 'Count', and provides accurate details of his long career right up to his illness and passing away on October 3, 1912, tends to manifest that the Kovacsis had been informed by Esterhazy of a large part or of the whole of his genuine *curriculum vitae*.

CONCLUSION

It is fundamental, for an adequate interpretation of the history of Hungarian-Canadian settlements, to study the relationships and interaction between three things: the phases of development of the Esterhaz Colony, the person of Paul Oscar Esterhazy, the immigration agent, and the events connected with the compilation and publication of the Esterhazy pamphlet. The publication of the booklet in parallel English and Hungarian editions (an exact replica of the former is appended to this study) could be regarded by the high dignitaries of the Department of the Interior as yet another incident in the long-standing competition between this country and the United States for immigrants, and P.O. Esterhazy as yet another means of advancing the Canadian cause. This state of affairs was, of course, not inconsistent with the Darwinian explanation condensed into the slogan "survival of the fittest", which apparently prevailed also in immigration matters at the turn of the century. Esterhazy, who was born into the family of a capable architect but had reason to believe that his real father belonged to the Count Esterhazy family in Hungary, had of course to secure the survival of his large family; yet he consistently combined his related effort with the desire "to save" his compatriots. It can even be said that he was actually campaigning for this purpose over the years, with two distinct objectives in mind. Firstly, he felt that as many Hungarians as possible must be freed, through emigration, from the rule of the government of post-1867 Compromise Hungary which he, together with Louis Kossuth and the majority of Hungarians, regarded as illegal and leading towards disaster. In the second place, he considered it just as urgent to save Hungarian peasant farmers from the ruthless and destructive environment of the Pennsylvanian mines and foundries. In his romantic idealistic way he believed that he could build up a New Hungary of real freedom in the Canadian West, where the ex-peasants would once again return to nature, with him as their squire. Indeed, in 1886, he carved out his 'manor' from the prairies and established the Esterhaz Colony around the Lake Esterhaz, thus reconstructing in his imagination what had been denied to him by his supposed aristocratic family. Notwithstanding his Hungarian patriotic ideals, the immigration agent had achieved a much higher degree of adjustment to Anglo-Saxon culture and behaviour than any other known contemporary Canadian immigrant from the continent of Europe. Thus, despite his almost immediate departure from the Colony, he succeeded in establishing and preserving an almost charismatic relationship with the colonists. In major matters, they continued to rely for many years on his leadership from a distance.

Furthermore, the plan for the pamphlet was initiated in connection with a request of the settlers. Esterhazy represented very effectively their pleas to the Government and the CPR for a railway and a townsite, and in the process managed to secure for himself some authority in immigration matters from the former and employment from the latter. The pamphlet, looked upon as a valuable tool in diverting Hungarian immigrants from the United States to the prairies, was compiled partly from P.O. Esterhazy's own written records and partly from material obtained during a visit of fifteen days to the Colony and Whitewood in July, 1902. During his stay there, many signs of the charismatic relationship referred to above could be detected. He was treated like a leader blessed with almost miraculous powers to propitiate the moody bureaucratic 'deities' of far-away Ottawa. He could make the members of the parish cry, and even persuade them to accept meekly and obediently some controversial activities and measures of parish priest and community leader, the Rev. Francis Woodcutter. Esterhazy, asked to perform further 'miracles' in Ottawa, left the Colony with a list of requests, including some from Woodcutter. One of his companions on that trip, a representative of the Winnipeg *Nor'-West Farmer*, seeing only the externals, remarked that "The Count was enthusiastically received by the people and held a reception after mass."[1]

But Esterhazy's visit to the Colony had some lasting influences as well. Besides obtaining for the pamphlet numerous photographs and statements by the sample group of 31 farmers, corroborated by the words of two clergymen, he successfully revived his old claim for land reservations for Hungarian settlements in the vicinity of the Colony. He was also instrumental, through the mediacy of the two clergymen, Woodcutter and Kovacsi, in bringing about a consistent pattern in the distribution of Hungarian immigrants in the next few years.

The availability of this land in the vicinity of the Colony was to lead to the establishment of several new colonies not far from the mother settlement. Stockholm and Cana, to be followed by Szekelyfold and Mariavolgy, were the most notable among them. As to the Esterhaz Colony, since it was already fully settled, practically no land was available at a cheap price for the young generation of farmers.

Another important effect of Esterhazy's presence in the Colony in connection with the gathering of material for the pamphlet was the bringing about of a long-coveted commercial center close to the Colony. The beginnings of the village of Esterhazy, later on to become a town, were directly connected with Esterhazy's personal intervention with CPR and Department of the Interior dignitaries. A symbolic recognition of Esterhazy's past and current services was effected by the naming of the new railway station and village after him. Esterhazy had listened to and noted down a great many requests and complaints from the settlers

while staying at Esterhaz-Kaposvar, in order that he could direct attention to them in Ottawa. The outcome of his influence in this repect is not known. Nonetheless, he made reference to these among his many other activities. Of course, his main duty consisted of persuading new arrivals from Hungary in New York to move to Canada, and he saw that this would be facilitated through circulation of the pamphlet. Obviously, it was vital for his agency to distribute pamphlets to as many potential immigrants to Canada as possible. By the end of 1903, he was in a position to report the successful distribution by mail of almost 2,000 pamphlets to individuals in the old country. As he properly pointed out in the same context, it was very difficult to measure the impact of pamphlets forwarded by him as distinct from others sent through other channels such as the office and the agents on the continent of the Commissioner of Immigration for the United Kingdom. Thus, apart from isolated cases, we do not know how many Hungarians, either in Hungary or in New York, were induced by the reading of an Esterhazy pamphlet to leave for Canada. However, the impact can be assessed in a different way.

In the course of the present research quite a large number of persons of Hungarian descent have been interviewed, including some who were pioneers. It was within this class of people that several have been found whose parents, or who themselves, had been prompted through the influence of an Esterhazy pamphlet to come to this country. Thus, for instance, Istvan Hido,[2] Lestock, was attracted to the West by a copy of the Hungarian version, and he went straight to Kaposvar to settle. He could find employment there with the Canadian Pacific Railway, but no vacant land. Some of the Szekelys of Bukovina also had a first glimpse of Canada through the illustrations of other copies of the same pamphlet, as Lukacs Barabas can attest with his own example.[3] Some of the later pioneers of Bekevar as well were enticed to the Canadian prairies through the contents of Esterhazy's booklet.[4] Of course, comparatively few of the pioneers have survived until the present to recount their story. Indeed, only a few have even retained the copy of the pamphlet they may have received. There have been several informants who remembered the reading of some sort of pamphlet before deciding on emigration, without having been able to identify which one it actually was. Many of these specimens of immigration literature also penetrated the remote villages of the Carpathian Mountains, and became reading matter for members of the Slovakian or Ukrainian population there. It is likely that the viewing of the pamphlet or correspondence with Esterhazy for these peoples of Hungary could also have been a decisive factor in making up their minds to leave their native land for the sake of a brighter future in Canada.

As another and indirect instance of the pamphlet's influence, we may refer to the social impact upon the country of emigration, that is to say, Hungary. It was not the paupers or the ne'er do wells who tended

to fall victim to the charm of distant countries, but rather people of initiative and with some savings. Continued emigration tended to result in a draining away of this element. The remainder of the population was also strongly, even if negatively, affected. The reading of the pamphlet may in its own way have contributed to the gradual spreading of a desire for a better life, and even discontent, among those who for various reasons found it difficult or impossible to emigrate. An important quality of the pamphlet lay in the fact that it could be passed on from one person to another. Those who had read it could talk about it to a very large number of persons, and present its contents in an even more alluring way than originally done by its author.

Finally, after having lost its attraction for would-be immigrants of the present, the pamphlet has become valuable as a historical source. As has been seen, direct information can be extracted from it concerning the pre-1902 history of the Hungarian settlement of the Canadian West as a whole. Some basic aspects of the life story of individual pioneer families can be uncovered. Our knowledge of the socio-economic and cultural history of the early Hungarian immigrants would be much poorer without it. It also provides some contribution towards such specialized fields as church history, folk culture and ethnic studies, not to mention an insight into some psychological and sociological aspects of adjustment both at the individual and at the communal level. In addition, it provides indirect information, through the writings of individual contributors, concerning their outlook, personalities, prejudices and the like.

After 1903, there were no special reservations left for the purpose of further Hungarian settlement in the vicinity of the Colony. Such new places as Stockholm, Cana and Touchwood Hills were already filling up. The Department's policy from this time on could be characterized by the saying, "First come, first served". Hungarians were still arriving and looking for the haven of Esterhaz-Kaposvar[5], while the only thing that they could obtain there was good advice as to where and how to find land many miles away from the Colony. Those newcomers who arrived with little or no means usually decided to enter into the service of one of the farmers in order to establish themselves as independent farmers, or just for the sheer need of acclimatization and acculturation. Indeed, farming was much different from that practised in the old country, owing to climatic divergences and the increasing use of various kinds of farm machinery, it was found difficult to fit into a new community, a new society, without a minimal knowledge of the language and the behavior patterns prevailing there. But the fact remains that they could not stay within the Colony too long if they wanted to have their own farmsteads, and this they invariably did. Esterhazy thought that the Department did not act properly in encouraging him in 1902 to make sweeping promises about the availability of much land in the close

neighbourhood of the Colony. He complained in May, 1904 quite specifically that, when he was compiling the pamphlet, he had had "no reason to hesitate advising my people to look for the promised land in that direction. . ."

Now however he felt constrained to admit with bitterness that his pamphlet, under the changed circumstances, was nothing but an instrument to mislead people into believing that if they emigrated to Canada they would be able to settle in a Hungarian community there; under the circumstances disappointment, discouragement and distrust would be the likely consequences for Hungarian newcomers upon arriving in Canada.

Only a few of these immigrants after 1902 had enough funds to purchase land in the Colony itself at the ever increasing prices. Most were compelled to find land farther to the north. Istvan Andris, for example, one of a group of immigrants influenced by the reading of the Esterhazy pamphlet, gave the following terse and graphic account of the causes and the process of reaching the final decision to emigrate to Canada:

> . . . we could make no progress because we were being pushed out of everything by the big land owners. We had many discussions on what to do until a shepherd came across a book where we read that at Eszterhaza in Canada the Pilcsak and the Lovasz, who had got there only a few years before, had a crop of several thousand bushels and what mansions they had. We liked the nicely painted mansions. We decided to emigrate to Canada . . . On March 12, 1907 we departed from Söjtől, Zala County.

They were heading for the Colony but alas there was no chance for their staying there: "We got off the train at Eszterháza on April 12th. We spent a night there and continued to Lipton."[6] But any ill-feelings this group, or others, might have harboured quickly disappeared when they were joined and led by experienced members of the Colony moving to new location. They became part of what may be called the Esterhazy *diaspora,* in which the mother colony of Hungarian Canadians on the Canadian prairies contributed to an increasing number of Hungarian communities across the land.[7]

FOOTNOTES

[1] *The Nor'-West Farmer*, Winnipeg, July 21, 1902.
[2] Interview with István Hidó, 87, Lestock, Sask., November 11, 1972.
[3] Interview with Lukács Barabás, 90, Regina, Sask., November 15, 1972.
[4] Interview with Mrs. J. Daku, 76, Kipling, Sask., November 18, 1972.
[5] J. Obed Smith, the Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg was in a position to report in 1904 (concerning the fiscal year beginning on July 1, 1902) that "There is a gratifying increase in the number of Hungarian immigrants during the past fiscal year, 1357 having arrived in Western Canada, an increase of nearly 50 per cent over the previous year, a large number having gone to their friends in the settlement near Kaposvar and Esterhaz, where 125 homesteads have been taken by them . . ." *SP*. No. 25, 1904, p. 98.
[6] Undated written statement by István Andris in Hungarian, prepared in the 1920's about his immigration and the beginning of the Hungarian settlement between Punnichy and Cupar, Saskatchewan (SAP). For more detailed information concerning the pre-emigrational socio-economic background of Hungarian immigrants to Canada, see the concluding pages of Chapter V (Annotations) below.
[7] For instance, Lajos Gönczy and Imre Pinke became leading members of the new communities of Leross and Plunkett respectively, (letter of December 10, 1973 from Louis Gönczy, Sr., Lethbridge; see ann. to p. 59).

Part Two

V. THE ESTERHAZY PAMPHLET

Facsimile of the English-language pamphlet which was published originally in 1902. For emigration publicity among Hungarians in Hungary and the United States, the Hungarian version tended to be the more useful, which circumstance explains why only 10,000 of the former and 25,000 of the latter were printed. Paul Oscar Esterhazy, the founder of the Esterhaz Colony, is the author, but since the pamphlet is a government publication, the authorship is not disclosed on the cover or the title page. The English and the Hungarian versions contain 70 and 80 pages respectively. The inclusion in the latter of civic, economic, climatic, and other useful information concerning Canada accounts for the difference in their lengths.

In theory the texts of the two versions are identical; nevertheless numerous differences can be determined between them, of which the more important are referred to in the preceding study in Part One or in the Annotations following the present section. In the majority of the cases the English text can be regarded as the more authentic.

The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-west Territories, Canada

o • o

Letters from the Settlers
and Illustrations
from
Photographs
taken on the Spot
in the month of July, 1902

The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-west Territories, Canada

• • •

Letters from the Settlers
and Illustrations
from
Photographs
taken on the Spot
in the month of July, 1902

OTTAWA
GOVERNMENT PRINTING BUREAU
1902

TO

THE PIONEER HUNGARIAN SETTLERS

OF

THE ESTERHAZ COLONY,

ASSINIBOIA, DOMINION OF CANADA,

WHO LABOURED FAITHFULLY, BUT NOT IN VAIN,

FOR THE HONOUR OF THEIR NATIONALITY

AND PROSPERITY OF THEIR FAMILIES,

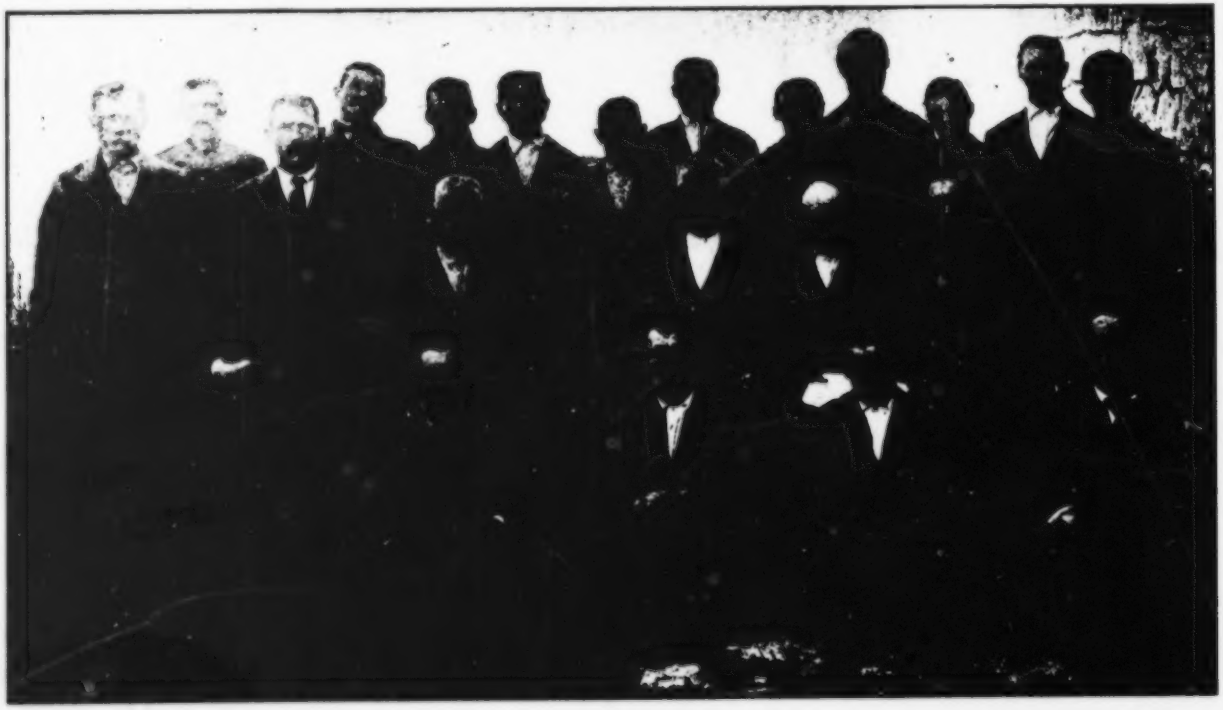
THIS WORK

IS CORDIALLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Éljen a Magyar!



Geo. Marjo. S. Lovász. S. Bartok. M. Szikora, J. Laczko. J. Szmerekovszky. (last row).
P. Kristof. S. Veres. J. Petrick. A. Gönczgy. P. Borilla. F. Toth. J. Hornyak. (3rd row).
L. Nagy. M. Kurnez. J. Pilcsak. S. Baráth. Geo. Nagy. M. Bernat. (Sitting on bench).
(Sitting on ground). J. Lengyel. J. Janoczko. J. Brunyánszky. S. Pilcsak.

THE PIONEER SETTLERS OF THE ESTERHAZ COLONY. 1885 to 1888.

THE ESTERHAZ COLONY

AS IT WAS, AND IS NOW

1885-1902

Townships 18, 19a, 19 and 20. Ranges 1, 2, 3 and 4, West 2nd Meridian,

ASSINIBOIA, CANADA

"NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS"

Not very far from the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, the flourishing and beautiful metropolis of the Canadian West, and about 25 miles north of Whitewood*, Assiniboia, a thriving town with a passenger and freight station on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, lies on a plateau about 450 feet above the picturesque Qu'Appelle river valley, one of the most fertile tracts of land in the world.

One bright but sultry day, in the month of June, 1885, four travellers in two conventional buggies, apparently well equipped for an extended exploring enterprise, were speeding their tired teams on the furrowed road wending its almost endless course through the broad lands of the Qu'Appelle valley towards its ascent on the northern slope; the road there becomes steep and rocky, with many confusing turns, alternating in magnificent

* *See* photographic views, pages 49 and 50.

panoramas. It was in those days the only highway which afforded access to the land lying above it. And to reach and explore this was the aim of our travellers.

One of the party to whose lot it fell to direct the expedition, furnishes the present observations.

Two immense plains were found, lying at different elevations, both presenting their broad areas to the sun by gently inclining towards the south, and intersected in various directions by ranges of wooded hills, by which many beautiful valleys were formed.

All that has been chronicled by a renowned historian of the ideal scenery, grand natural attractions, and productiveness of the soil of Hungary, lends needful inspiration in fitly describing the attractiveness and resources of the new home and country of the Magyar in Western Canada. The soil of this land, though varied in character, is everywhere deep and rich. Many of its hills are arable; its numerous prairies are composed of a black or brown mould, and find their parallels only in the Hungarian wheat lands of the Banat. Of these a writer (Paget) says: 'The same crops are here repeated year after year on the same spot; the ground is only once turned up to receive the seed; a fallow is unknown; manure is never used, but is thrown away as injurious, and yet, with the greatest care and labour, in other places I never saw such abundant produce as illtreated, unaided Nature here bestows upon her children.'

In a land of such beauty and fertility husbandry amply repays the toil of man.

During the winter months the country is blessed with that peculiarly healthful, elastic, bracing atmosphere so common to the higher latitudes, which gives such a buoyancy and vigour to the mind and body. The climate in summer approaches nearly to that of Italy; the flowery and fruitful country is warmed and lighted by an Italian sun, fanned by Italian breezes, and

canopied by the pure cerulean of an Italian sky. Such a country, it will be at once acknowledged—of such fertility, abounding with such a variety of resources, characterized by such a climate and left to the undisturbed and grateful task of developing and multiplying its own means of individual and social happiness—possesses enormous attractions. Here a free, industrious people will find a happy, prosperous existence, and agriculture, so long baffled by the stubbornness of other soils and climes, will reach perfection, scatter flowers upon every valley, wind every hill with vines and pour its cereal treasures around the hearthstones of every home. Here, in this land, on the plains before referred to, the Esterhaz Colony was founded in the month of June, 1886; the first settlers, about 35 Hungarian families—150 souls—having taken possession of homesteads selected in the year 1885 and reserved since for that purpose, each comprising 160 acres of free government land, under the provisions of the Dominion Government Land Act. In spite of many reverses experienced by the settlers in the earlier period of the life of the colony, it has now assumed considerable proportions, and a number of Hungarian immigrants from the old country and the United States have also established themselves in a district called 'Kaposvar,' adjacent to the mother colony. All have united in making this settlement a success; an unfailing source of maintenance for their families, and an unassailable stronghold of their safety; an ideal place for the enjoyment of rural life. And there is yet enough arable, rich land available within the territory of this colony to accommodate many thousands of families, grand opportunities being offered, which, if accepted, will insure them a happy home and a prosperous future, provided honesty and industry mark the character of the settler.

When, in the month of May, 1885, His Excellency the Marquess of Lansdowne, then Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, granted an audience to the author of this booklet, on

which occasion the proposition was submitted to His Excellency to colonize the lands in question with Hungarian immigrants, farmers and farm labourers of that nationality, the question was asked whether the Magyars as a class can be looked upon as a desirable acquisition to the communities of the Canadian North-west, the following historical record as to the characteristics of this people was presented in response: The moral sentiments of the Magyar are of the highest order. He is too proud to be dishonest, low or mean. He is governed at all times by a high sense of what is right and just. As a master he is careful, kind and generous. As a subject he is fixed, resolute, unyielding to what is wrong. If rich, he is profuse in his expenses, elevated in his tastes, liberal in his charities. If poor, his pride will not suffer him to complain, while his general demeanour cannot be distinguished from the wealthiest baron in the land. In all the relations of domestic life, as a husband, father, brother, son, he is unimpeachable in his conduct, or follows every aberration with dignified regret. His hospitality is unbounded; whether rich or poor he receives his visitors with joy and dismisses them with unwillingness. In religion he is sincere, devout, but never contentious or fanatical. The liberty which in all things he demands for himself he freely accords to all others. Freedom indeed is the word which concentrates in itself the whole life and being of a Magyar.

Nothing more needs to be said of this colony and its people. Certain results which have been attained by their honest efforts and marvellous endurance are here illustrated by photographic views quite recently taken, to the extent of the camera's capacity, such as their dwelling houses, farm yards with stables and outhouses, their fields standing rich in crops, &c. The showing also of the successful progress made by many other settlers had to be here omitted owing to the limited space allotted to avoid overcrowding the booklet.

Brief sketches of their own experiences and impressions, written by themselves over their respective names, are contributed by some of the settlers. These will tend to attest, if necessary, the correctness of the particulars related in this connection by the author. Especial notice is deserving the highly interesting statement made by Rev. F. Woodcutter, parish priest of Esterhaz Colony, now residing at Kaposvar. (*See* photographic view of parochial residence, page 14.)

A nucleus of a new Hungarian colony contiguous to Esterhaz and to be named 'Szent Istvan,' or 'Saint Stephen,' in honour of the sainted first king of Hungary, is now in course of formation, with a post office applied for and to be located near the proposed site of the station on the new branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, now under way of construction.

From the most reliable information recently obtained, the new branch road referred to, running from a point near Kirkella on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, about 100 miles north and north-west, to serve the colonies lying north of the Qu'Appelle valley, with stations and town sites located at intervals of eight miles from each other, will be open for passenger traffic, and the transportation of the products of the colonies to the nearest markets, in the latter part of the present year. (*See* photo, page 57.)

It may be mentioned in conclusion that a large, commodious tent for the temporary shelter of arriving immigrants has been erected near the parochial residence at Kaposvar, and it is hoped that the Dominion Government will cause a permanent immigration house to be built on the site of the proposed station, 'Esterhazy.'

It should also be known that the Rev. F. Woodcutter, parish priest, has assumed charge of the affairs of Hungarian immigration for and the allotment of homesteads to land-seekers in the Hungarian colonies; all letters therefore calling for further

information should be addressed to him at Kaposvar, Assiniboia, Canada.

It is contemplated also to erect immediately after the opening of the new branch line, a grist mill, a country store and a hotel, many of the old settlers at Esterhaz and Kaposvar having already applied for town lots in the proposed town of 'Esterhazy,' where they intend building their residences for occupation during the winter season.

The tabulated exhibit of the status of the colony of Esterhaz and of its people, as compiled from statistics of the latest date, will be found interesting as well as instructive.

A map of the townships and sections now occupied by Hungarian settlers, also showing the line of the new branch road of the Canadian Pacific Railway and some of the stations, will, it is hoped, afford and complete all the information looked for by the expectant readers of this booklet.

Tabulated Exhibit of the status of the Esterhaz Colony and of its people, as compiled from latest statistics, dated at Kaposvar, July 19, 1902.

The lands of the Esterhaz Colony, when first selected and reserved in June, 1885, for Hungarian colonization purposes, covered an area of 125,000 acres; of this are now taken up 40,000 acres.

The number of homesteads occupied by families, 200.
Entire population of Esterhaz and Kaposvar, 900 souls.
Land under cultivation and fenced with wire, 14,000 acres.

Buildings:

One church, Roman Catholic, Rev. F. Woodcutter, parish priest.
One parochial residence, built of stone.
Two post offices, Esterhaz and Kaposvar.
Four school-houses, two at Esterhaz, two at Kaposvar.

The following is unincumbered property of the settlers, including certain lands of their homesteads as shown above:—

200 dwelling-houses, with stables, granaries, outhouses, &c.

Produce in 1901:

Wheat, 160,000 bushels, sold for cash at the mills.
Oats, rye, barley, 40,000 bushels, sold for cash at the mills.
Potatoes, 20,000 bushels, and every kind of root crops.
Milk, butter and eggs in great quantities, sold to buyers with profit.

Live Stock:

Horned cattle, 2,500 head; horses, 600; hogs, 1,200, and every kind of poultry.

Farm Implements:

Steam thresher, 1; ploughs, 400; binders, 200; wagons and buggies, 200; harness, &c.

PAROCHIAL HOUSE AT KAPOSVAR. REV. FATHER WOODCUTTER. N.E. ¼ 4, 19, 1, W. 2nd Mer.

WHAT REV. F. WOODCUTTER, PARISH PRIEST, HAS TO SAY ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES IN CANADA, AND ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE ESTERHAZ COLONY, KAPOSVAR POST OFFICE, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA, JULY, 1902.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR POST OFFICE, July, 1902.

Whereas, at present there is a general move in the way of Hungarian emigration to Canada, and whereas, they are circulating so many rumours and reports, mostly wrong about this country, I deem it my duty as parish priest, labouring among, and for the welfare of Hungarian settlers in this great and wealthy country of ours, to avail myself of this opportunity to write a few words as to my experience in Canada and more especially in the North-west Territories and the Colony Esterhaz.

I arrived in Canada twelve years ago, and a year later became acquainted with the Esterhaz Colony, where I then stayed for one and a-half years. In April, 1900, I returned to Esterhaz, taking charge of the parish, and it was a great pleasure to me to notice how marked a difference there was in this colony from the time I left to the date I returned now two years ago. When I arrived here the first time everything was in its infancy only, for most of the new settlers had arrived with little means and a great number without a cent in their pocket, in consequence of which it could not be wondered at that this people had a hard struggle to get on their feet.

All the more was I surprised to find at my return two years ago that this wild country had been transformed into fertile plains, beautiful grain fields, and to see how happy an appearance the people had.

As the beginning was toilsome no wonder that some settlers, less courageous than others, more than once had made up their minds to leave the country and to go back to the land of their fathers, but to-day there is not one who would ever think of going back to Hungary, and why would they ?

There are many reasons for this, some of which I shall now discuss shortly.

First of all, as every male settler of eighteen years and over, and every widow, being head of a family gets 160 acres of good and very productive farm land, partly covered by forest, useful for building purposes and fuel, for which 160 acres only $10 have to be paid to the government. Everybody becomes an independent land-

owner quite different from what they might have been in the old country.

The climate is very healthy, epidemical diseases not being known, which is proved by the great number of aged people who at their high age enjoy extraordinary good health. The summer is of the same temperature as in most of the European countries ; the winter on the other hand is perhaps colder than in some parts of Europe, however, as the cold is very dry one can stand twice the amount of cold as he would be able to endure in Europe where our winters are less cold but very damp, causing a great deal of sickness and deaths. As to the fancy tales of the smoke freezing in the chimneys, and the people dying on the road a few minutes after they had gone outside, these are either straight lies on the part of those who knew better or grave errors on the part of those who know nothing whatever about the country.

Some invented the ghastly story of the people being eaten alive by the Indians, original inhabitants of this country. I defy any one to prove that such thing ever happened since 100 years, i.e., since civilization was introduced here. Not only that the Indians never do any harm to the people, but even they keep away from them as far as possible, as they shun the contact of white people.

Until now a great drawback to our colony was the distance from railway accommodation, this, however, will be done away with as a new branch line is being built this summer in the immediate proximity of our colony. If these people are able to show such success in spite of the long distance from the railroad, what will they be able to show a few years hence ? One good point and reason for the success of our settlers is this, that there has never been a failure of crop, but while in some years the crop was lighter, in others it was above the average.

However, I think it my duty to mention a very important point : Some people are of the opinion that when they go to America or Canada they only need to stoop down and pick up the lumps of gold lying by the roadside. This is a great mistake, for no less than in Europe can one make a living without working, the only difference is this, that whosoever is able and willing to work will be well repaid for it, for wages are very good, affording not only a living to the working man but also leaving him a nice sum to be put by at the end of the year.

As to churches and schools our people do not suffer anything. We have a church where divine service is held every Sunday and holiday ; as I am residing here as parish priest, the people have built a commodious dwelling house for my use.*

We have four school houses that are filled to overcrowding, as there are about 200 children on the roll. The government pays two-thirds of the teachers' salary and the people the balance.

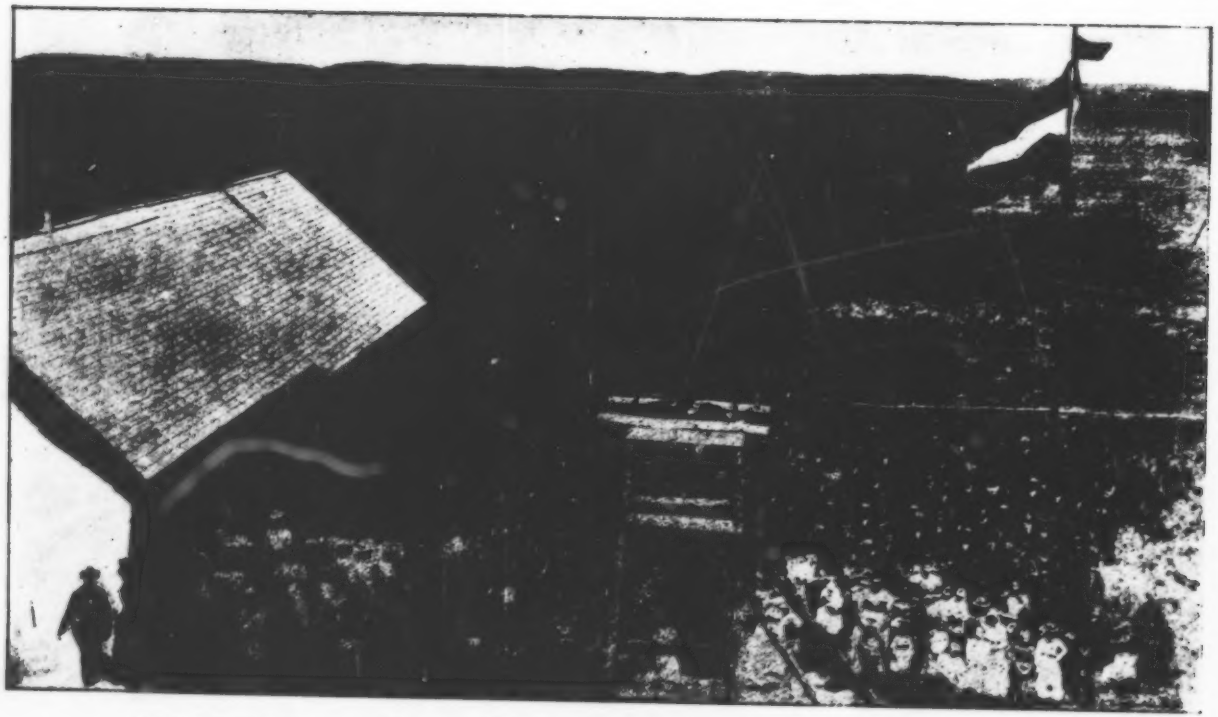
* *See* photographic view, page 14

My parish contains now 800 souls, and judging from the great number of letters I get from intending settlers, this number should be doubled in less than two years. My parishoners are peaceful and law-abiding people, and do not indulge in any habit that might bring disgrace upon their nationality.

On account of the great number of new settlers I expect to arrive during the next year, I hope to see another and possibly several new Hungarian colonies springing up in this neighbourhood. It is not here a question of where to place the new settlers, but it is the question, and to this I devote a good part of my time in the interest of Hungarian settlers, to get as many new settlers as possible.

Let us hope that this description of Canada, though it shows only a few of the advantages of the country, will put this country into the proper light, do away with some false notions entertained by some people, and induce a great many new settlers to arrive and join the happy lot of Hungarian settlers who have now made Canada their permanent home—a home of happiness and prosperity.

F. WOODCUTTER,
Parish Priest.



After Church Service; the Hungarian Congregation of Esterhaz and Kaposvar, Sunday, July 13, 1902.

SOME REMARKS ABOUT THE CANADIAN WEST, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE ESTERHAZ COLONY, AS CONTRIBUTED BY MR. KOVACSI KALMAN, MISSIONARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF HUNGARY, AT WHITEWOOD, ASSINIBOIA.

THE MAGYAR IN CANADA.

The area of Canada is greater than that of Europe ; its extent lies in the higher altitudes of North America, and expands from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. In the province named Assiniboia, about the central part of that country called the North-west, there are now living about 300 Hungarian families, who are engaged either in the cattle trade or working in coal mines, but the majority of them in farming pursuits on their own lands of 160 acres, which they obtained from the Dominion Government on payment of $10 for entry fee at the time they became homesteaders and after having fulfilled certain conditions to ownership. Those who are labourers in mines or elsewhere in the country can earn sufficient money to enable them with their savings to build up for themselves and their families dwelling houses and farm yards, and to buy all necessary implements, seeds, &c., for farming purposes. The nearby forests furnish an inexhaustible supply of timber for building and domestic use and for fuel ; and there is plenty of good water in the wells, dug out on their own lands, and in the lakes, rivers and creeks within easy reach of their homesteads.

I wish to remark that I am now speaking particularly of the Esterhaz Colony, including Kaposvàr and Haselwood, in the direction of which Hungarian immigration seems, in these days, to take its course, even more so than to Manitoba which is a province contiguous to Assiniboia, I have special reference to in this writing.

The people of these colonies are, thanks be to God, in the enjoyment of excellent health ; lung sickness, coughs, colds or epidemic diseases are unknown here, chiefly because of the pure and invigorating atmosphere prevailing throughout the year, which is peculiar to these high altitudes. As for myself I feel in better health now than at any time before my arrival in this country. After the long winter season, and after nature's protracted rest, the warm, lifegiving summer's sun—quickly and almost visibly makes vegetation shoot up its germs in luxuriously blooming and fruit-bearing fields, on the plains, in dales and on the hills of the colony, and in the country

surrounding it. The flora is beautiful, brilliant in colouring, spread profusely all over the land and permeating the atmosphere with its deliciously fragrant perfume. Every kind of game and birds inhabit the woods and fields ; the lakes abound in fish, and wild water fowls in untold numbers are found roosting on every pond, and sport is permissible under restrictions, however, of the game laws. The finest pastures and grazing lands in the world are right here on the vacant sections, and the hay harvest is unsurpassed. Wild beasts or carnivorous animals are unknown in this part of the country. Commencing in April the land is turned up to receive the seed. The harvesting season generally begins in the latter part of August, lasting to the end of September or later. The productiveness of the Canadian soil, of which I am now speaking, is so well known already as not to require to be emphasized here ; I can only repeat saying that every kind of vegetable grows in great abundance and to perfection in the soil. One instance I may here mention will illustrate my assertion : A Mr.s Stephen Baràth, of Kaposvàr, received the highest prize for the exhibit of the finest melon, a product of her own garden, at the several annual agricultural shows at Esterhaz. If a settler tells me that he cannot succeed my uniform and ever ready answer is that the cause of his failure must be traced to some fault of his own, but never to illtreated and unaided nature which otherwise bestows her fruits bountifully upon her children. It often made me happy to notice the good understanding prevailing and the considerate treatment accorded to the servants by their masters ; they partake of their meals at the same family table and share the same clean and commodious rooms of the house.

I wish to speak also of the new branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is now in course of construction near Esterhaz and Kaposvàr ; this line of the road with its new stations and town sites located near the lands reserved for Hungarian colonization purposes is of very great importance to the colony and of incalculable advantages to the settlers.

There are now several schools in the colony where the English language and other useful object lessons are taught by teachers appointed by the government.

The people are free of taxation, excepting for the school tax, which, however, is very light.

The majority of the population of Esterhaz and Kaposvàr are communicants of the Roman Catholic Church, they have the spiritual care of their parish priest and a house of God. The number of Hungarians of the reformed church, however, is daily increasing, and they are worshiping under my ministration whenever opportunity presents itself for me to do so ; we then make use of the room in the Bohemian school house at Esterhaz, and we trust in an ever-wise dispensation of our Lord's providence that will soon

make it possible to us to build up our own church and school house in that colony. The state pays two-thirds of the teachers' salary.

In conclusion I must say a few words about the youngest of our colonies, viz., Hazelwood : Here the greater part of the Hungarian settlers are members of the reformed church ; they are living peacefully and happily together ; the name of the colony will be changed appropriately to one of our own mother tongue. A church and post office will also be shortly erected and established.

There are now forty families occupying homesteads of 160 acres each ; the land is very productive almost equal to ours of the famous Banàt ; a forest extending from 15 to 30 miles is furnishing the required supply of timber and fuel wood. It is expected that within two years the branch of the new railroad now building will reach and serve also this settlement ; in the meantime the produce of the colony is transported by axle to Broadview, a village 22 to 24 miles distant, the nearest market place. (It should be understood that 4 miles of English make 1 Hungarian mile.) I wish further to remark here that a settler named John Szabó, who is now a curator of our church, and is one of our prominent parishioners, and who, in the year 1900, settled down here with three horses, two cows and seven oxen without, however, any money whatever, is now the owner of ninety acres of land, standing high and rich in wheat, is erecting a fine dwelling house and is the possessor of a farm so productive and attractive as to insure him the highest praise of the community.

We propose to build here our school house next spring which will serve us temporarily for a church ; occasional services are held by me at Hazelwood. My congregation is paying my annual dues in parts ; I am their pastor, appointed by the Mission Society.

Let me finally say to you, my dear Hungarian brethren, that this is the country where honest enduring labour meets its speedy and adequate reward ; the despondent man who still, lingering in the old country, is forced reaching for, and leaning already on the beggars' staff, in coming here is assured to become in due course of time, by industry and enduring labour, an independent landowner and a happy prosperous member of our colony.

My own people who are settled here since October, 1901, are willing to testify to the correctness of my assertion by declaring that :

Our God is with us,
And prosperity.

And whenever we meet in prayer we offer our grateful hearts to Almighty God for having brought us here to this blessed land and given us our new homes. We shall never forget, however, our own dear fatherland, nor the glorious history of our illustrious compatriot Louis Kossuth, nor the beautiful capital of Hungary, Buda-Pesth, and we shall ever cultivate the sweet language of our fore-

fathers, even in this far away land, and we will sing and worship by prayers to the glory of our God and Saviour also in the true vernacular tongue of our native land, Hungary.

And I believe that our labours will be always sanctified by prayers, and that the Lord will bless our efforts in doing what is right and proper for His glory and for the honour of our nationality.

KOVÀCSI KÀLMÀN,

Missionary of the Hungarian Reformed Church for Whitewood and the adjoining Hungarian Colonies.

WHITEWOOD, ASSINIBOIA,
CANADA, July 16, 1902.

LAKE ESTERHAZ ON 7, 19, 1 W. 2nd Mer.

Home of Mr. Stephen Bartah, on S.W. ¼ 4, 39a, 1 W. 2.

WHAT SOME OF THE HUNGARIAN SETTLERS HAVE TO SAY FOR THEMSELVES, ABOUT THE CANADIAN NORTH-WEST, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE ESTERHAZ COLONY,—THEIR PRESENT ABIDING PLACE, AND OF THE PRODUCTIVENESS OF THEIR OWN FARMS, AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPEROUS CIRCUMSTANCES IN THESE DAYS.

BARÀTH ISTVÀN.

Homestead: S.W. ¼ 4, Tp. 19A., R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Baràth Istvàn, of Hungary, arrived in the Esterhaz Colony, April 16, 1888, without any money. I found work, and with my first earnings I paid $12 entry fee for my homestead of 160 acres of fine land. The beginning was very hard, but now we enjoy the lovely fruits of it. My wife also owns 160 acres of land. I have 70 acres under cultivation, with 40 acres ploughed up. Last year we harvested together : Wheat, 900 bushels ; oats, 500 bushels ; corn, 140 bushels. I sold my wheat at the mill for 55 cents a bushel. I had also an abundant crop of potatoes and kitchen vegetables.

I own eight draught horses, fifteen head of horned cattle, and pigs and poultry sufficient to supply all the wants of the household.

My farm has all the requisite implements, machinery, wagons, buggy and sets of harness.

BARÀTH ISTVÀN.

KAPOSVAR, July 20, 1902.

TAKÀCS ISTVÀN.

Homestead: S.E. 7, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
ESTERHAZ, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Takàcs Istvàn, of Vizsoly, Abaujmegye, Hungary, and my wife Galjàs Erzsébet, of Korlàs, Abaujmegye, Hungary, emigrated to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada, in the year 1896, with cash, $150.

At present we possess 480 acres of fine land ; of this we have turned up to receive the seed 73 acres. Last year we harvested : Wheat, 1,084 bushels ; oats, 144 bushels, and 160 sacks of potatoes, and a sufficient crop of garden vegetables.

We have three draught horses, five head of horned cattle, and pigs and poultry in large numbers. On part of the lake, covering many acres of my property, can always be found for sport many flocks of wild ducks.

Our farm has every description of implements and machinery for tilling the land, also set of harness.

TAKÀCS ISTVÀN.

ESTERHAZ, July 19, 1902.

HOME OF MR. S. TAKÀCS ON S.E. 7, 19, 1 W. 2nd Mer

HOME OF MR. J. LENGYEL ON N.W. ¼ 3, 19, 1, W. 2.

LENGYEL JOZSEF.

Homestead: N.W. ¼ 3, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Lengyel Jozsef, of Felsö-Mera, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, emigrated in 1883 to the United States of America. There we have experienced many serious reverses, in consequence of the then prevailing labour troubles no work could be found, and later on my only little boy, having become a victim of small-pox—then epidemic in that region—I resisted the health board authorities in having him removed to the pest-house. We were thereupon quarantined in a far out of the way building without a chance of finding employment for myself. This sad experience has had the effect of discouraging me to that extent that after the recovery from sickness of my little boy I decided of joining my countrymen, who were then preparing to leave the States in a body for Canada. As I had then, not money enough to undertake the journey, I availed myself of the generous offer of half-rate tickets, then issued to intending settlers, in the Hungarian Colony in Canada.

Upon our arriva. at Whitewood, in Canada, an advance of $500 in kind, such as oxen, cows, wagons, farming implements, guns, provisions, &c., and a frame dwelling house was effected to each settler under certain agreement of repayment, and we then started in company with the other settlers, and with the whole company outfit of tents, cooking stoves and utensils to take possession of the land which was to be our future home, and which is the present Colony named Esterhaz with a population of over one hundred Hungarian families, prosperous settlers, living together happily in communities like in the dear old country.

I will not dwell here upon the hardships and sufferings endured by the pioneer settlers of this colony, in the first few years of its development and during the battles bravely fought for our existence. We are thankful for what we have so far accomplished.

At present I am the owner of 320 acres of land, of this I have ploughed up 135 acres. Last year I harvested: Wheat, 1,500 bushels; oats, 500 bushels, and enough potatoes and kitchen vegetables for use of our household.

I have four draught horses and one colt, seven head of horned cattle, twenty-three pigs and plenty of poultry.

My farm is furnished with every requisite implements, machinery and harness for the use of tilling the ground.

LENGYEL JOZSEF.

ESTERHAZ, July 20, 1902.

SZMEREKOVSZKY JOZSEF.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 4, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Szmerekovszky Jozsef, of Jànok, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, emigrated together with my wife in 1883 to the United States of America. From thence we came here to join the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada. We arrived without having a cent of money at our disposal.

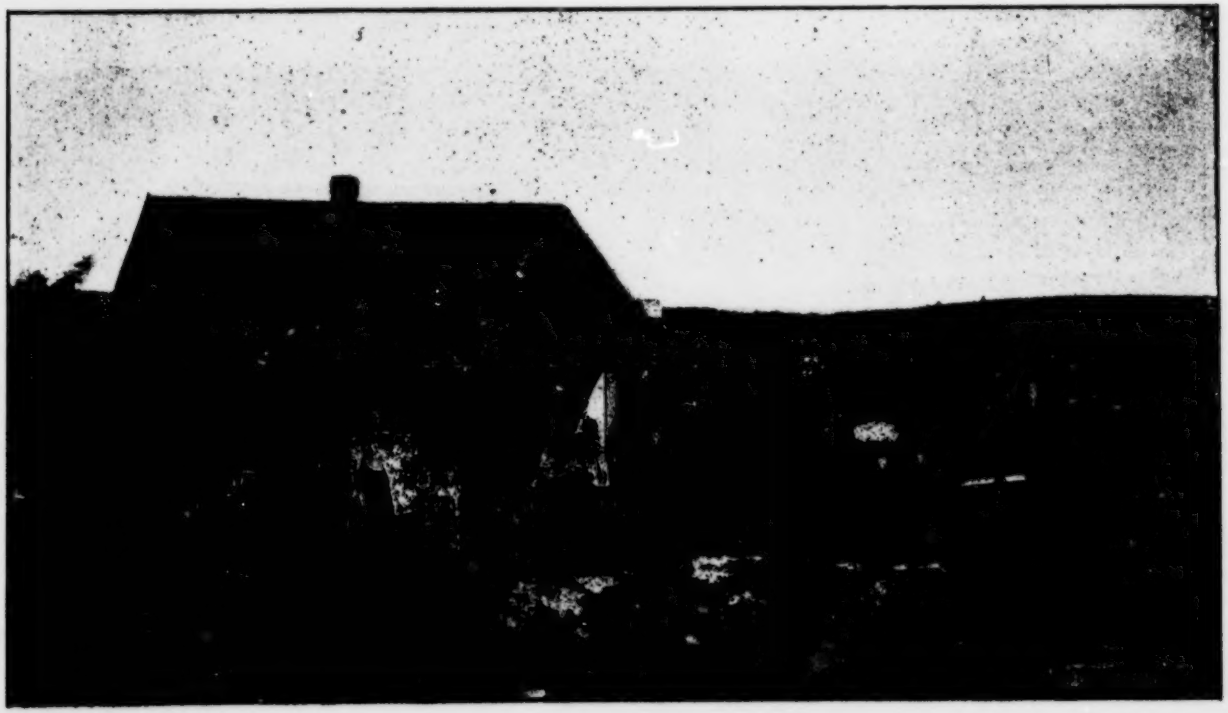
At present I own 150 acres of fine land ; of this I have about 60 acres under cultivation. Last year's crops yielded me : 280 bushels of wheat, 126 bushels of oats, and enough potatoes and kitchen vegetables to supply the want of my household.

I have two draught horses, two yoke of oxen, two cows in milk and one calf. The cause of my live stock being so small in number is some heavy expenses incurred in previous year which necessitated the sale of my cattle.

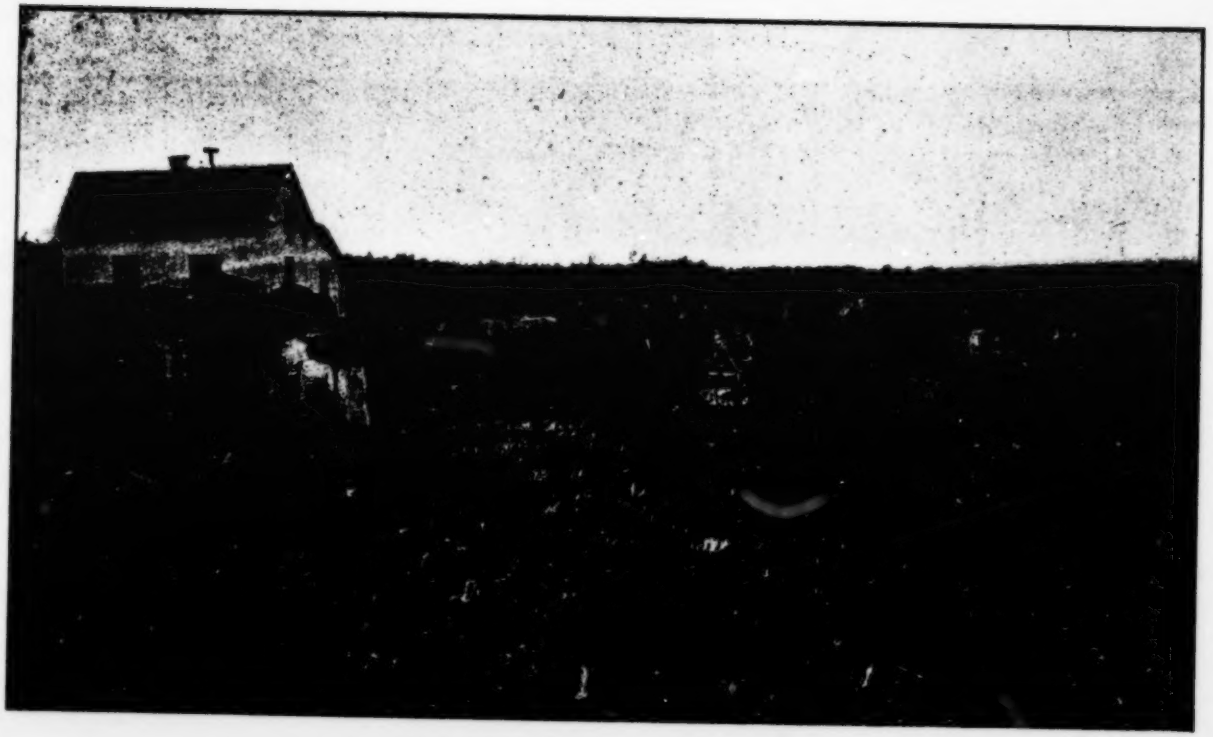
My farm is furnished with every requisite machinery and implements, also harness used in tilling the land.

JOZSEF SZMEREKOVSZKY.

ESTERHAZ, July 20, 1902.



HOME OF MR. J. SIMENEKOVOSKY ON N.E. ¼ 4, 19, 1, W. 2



HOME OF MR. LOUIS GÖNCZY, N.W. ¼ 10, 19, 1, W. 2.

GÖNCZY LAJOS.

Homestead: N.W. ¼ 10, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Gönczy Lajos, of Göncz-Ruszka, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, emigrated in 1882 to the United States of America. Having found employment, I married, and in 1886 we came over here, and I was amongst the first pioneer settlers of the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz in Canada. I had then with me, and I received also from Hungary altogether $500.

It would be to no purpose to narrate here the many difficulties we had to meet at the time of starting the colony. I will only express my feelings of gratitude to God for having blessed my labours with the following returns :—

I am now the owner of 620 acres of good land ; of this about 125 acres are turned up to receive the seed. My last year's crops yielded me : Wheat, 1,400 bushels ; oats, 1,500 bushels, and for the use of my household we gathered in potatoes and kitchen vegetables in great plenty.

I have five draught horses and three colts, forty head of horned cattle, twenty-four hogs, and a large flock of poultry.

From the sales last year of my wheat and oats, of horned cattle and butter, I realized altogether cash, $1,000 or 2,500 fl.

My farm is supplied with every requisite machinery and implements, sets of harness, &c., for tilling the land.

GÖNCZY LAJOS.

ESTERHAZ, July 20, 1902.

GÖNCZY SÀNDOR.

Homestead: N.E. 1, Tp. 19, R. 2, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Göncry Sàndor, of Göncz-Ruszka, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, emigrated in 1885 to the United States of America. The following spring, 1886—however, my family having joined me meantime—we went to Canada with the pioneers of the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz. We arrived here without any money ; indeed, I had to borrow enough to meet our travelling expenses.

At present I am the owner of 640 acres of fine land ; of this I have about 200 acres under cultivation. My crops last year consisted of : 1,835 bushels of wheat, 470 bushels of oats, and about 100 sacks of potatoes, and every kind of garden vegetables in great plenty.

I own four draught horses and one colt, fifteen head of horned cattle, and fiften hogs ; also a great variety of poultry.

My farm is supplied with all the requisite implements and machinery, also two sets of harness for the use of tilling my land.

Not boastfully, but with feelings of gratitude to God, I have given the above statement of facts.

GÖNCZY SÀNDOR.

ESTERHAZ, July 19, 1902.

HOME OF MR. ALEXANDER GÖNCZY, N.E. 1, 19, 1 W. 2.

HOME OF MR. GEORGE HANICS ON S.E. ¼ 12, 19A, 1 W. 2.

HANICS GYÖRGY.

Homestead: S.E. ¼, Sec. 12, Township 19A., Range 1, W. 2nd M.= 160 acres and 135 acres.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Hanics György, of Siba Sàrosmegye, Hungary, in 1883, then a young man of eighteen years, emigrated to the United States of America. I laboured in that country and got married, and in 1886 we came over here and established ourselves in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz. All my possessions at that time was ten dollars in currency.

At present I am the owner of 295 acres of excellent land, of which 195 acres are under tillage. Last year I harvested 2,100 bushels of wheat, 530 bushels of oats, 115 bushels of rye, and about 500 bushels of potatoes.

My live stock consists of five draught horses, one foal, and thirty-two head of horned cattle, besides hogs and poultry in sufficient number to satisfy the necessities of my household.

Last year I made a clear profit of $130 = 325 fl., by the sale of cream only, bought for cash at the cheese and butter factory. I am provided with every kind of farming implements, two sets of horse harness and every article requisite for tilling my land, and there are no debts encumbering my estate ; moreover, with the help of God, it was made possible for me to purchase a carriage for the use and pleasure of my family, such as, to my recollection of younger days, the ordinary village landlord was never able to keep or to show in the dear old fatherland.

I have narrated the foregoing particulars of my circumstances, past and present, showing the many blessings bestowed upon us with deepest gratitude in my heart to God, for His vouchsafement of the same.

HANICS GYÖRGY.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

PILCSAK ISTVAN, SENIOR.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 8, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Pilcsàk Istvàn, Sr., of Örmezö, Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, emigrated together with my family in 1888 to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, in Canada. When I arrived here I had but $22 in my possession.

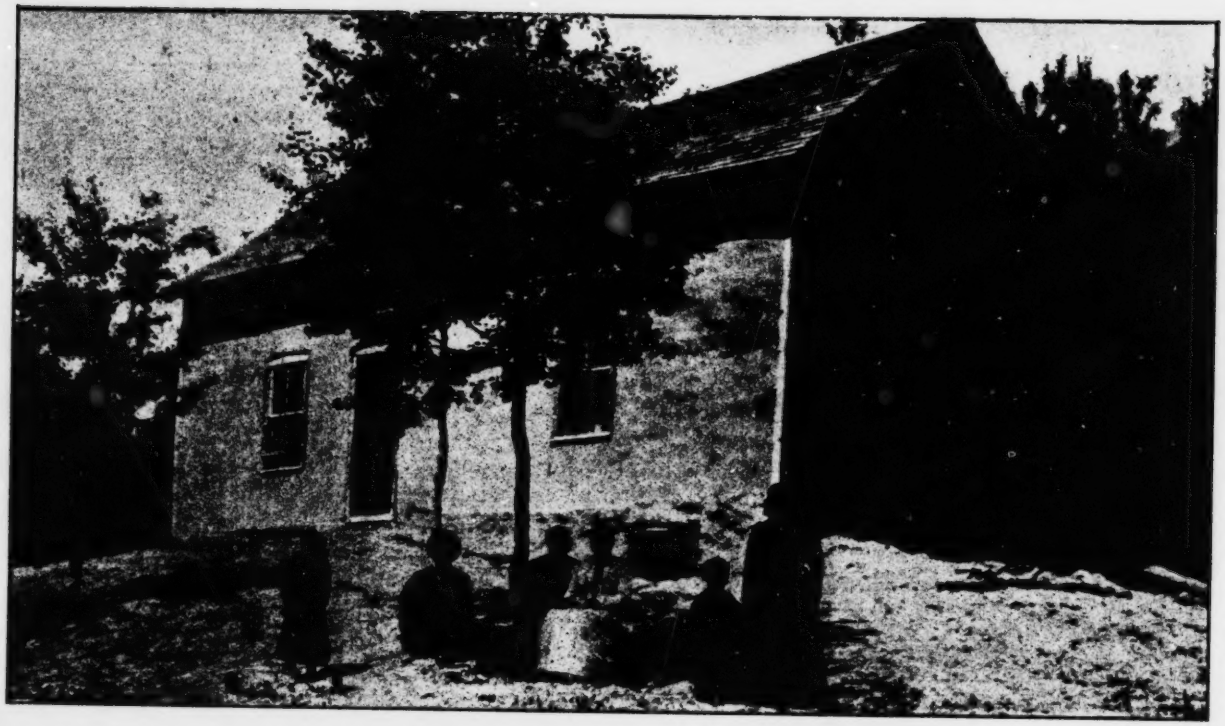
I am now the owner of 160 acres of fine land, of this I have under cultivation 140 acres. My crops yielded me last year : Wheat, 1,800 bushels ; oats, 600 bushels ; corn, 80 bushels, and sufficient potatoes and kitchen vegetables to satisfy the wants of my household.

I have two draught horses and two colts. My son and oldest daughter having married and made homes for themselves, and the care of little children only being left to me. Considering the burden of farming on a larger scale undesirable, I disposed of my horses and horned cattle to the amount of $360 or 900 fl. I have, however, still on my farm six head of horned cattle, twenty hogs, and about 100 chickens, ducks, &c. ; besides that my farming implements, machinery and sets of harness are worth about $900 or 2,250 fl. My new dwelling house and other farm buildings are in very good condition.

PILCSÀK ISTVÀN.

KAPOSVÀR, July 20, 1902.

HOME OF MR. STEPHEN PILONAK ON N.E. ¼ 3, 19, 1, W. 2.



HOME OF MR. J. BABIJAK ON S.E. ¼ 3, 19A, 1, W. 2.

BABIJÀK JÀNOS.

Homestead: S.E. ¼ Sec. 3, Town. 19A, Range 1, W. 2nd M.—160 acres and 160 acres.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Babijàk Jànos, of Örmezö, Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, emigrated in the year 1890, together with my family, to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz. We arrived here without having a cent of money at our disposal.

Now, however, after a hard beginning and many sore trials, the good Lord was pleased to bless our industry with the following returns :—

I am the owner of 320 acres of fine land, of this is now ploughed up 120 acres. I harvested last year 1,404 bushels of wheat, 152 bushels of rye, 502 bushels of oats, and 42 bushels of barley. For the use of my household and abundant crop of potatoes and vegetables was gathered in, of the latter 1,000 heads of cabbages.

I further own five draught horses and two foals ; eighteen head of horned cattle, fifteen hogs, and a sufficient number of every variety of poultry.

I am provided with all requisite farming implements and machinery, and two sets of harness.

Without boasting I may mention here that I have built myself last year, upon a stone foundation, used for a cellar, a good dwelling house, one story high, with shingle roof ; and this year I was able to erect a stable 130 by 48 feet, double row of stalls without incurring a cent of obligations.

BABIJAK JÀNOS.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

MARJO GYÖRGY.

Homestead: S.E. ¼ 12, Tp. 19, R. 2, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Marjo György, of Hernad-Szöled, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, left my country in 1884 with the intention of settling down in the United States of America where I found employment. Later on I sent for my family, but because of the labour troubles in the States, which are causing considerable loss to the wage-earners, we emigrated in 1889 to Canada and became homesteaders in the Esterhaz Colony. I arrived here with $160 cash in my possession.

I own now 480 acres of land, of this I have turned up 140 acres. Last year I harvested : 1,152 bushels of wheat,, 492 bushels of oats, 108 bushels of corn, more than 100 sacks of potatoes and a large quantity of garden vegetables.

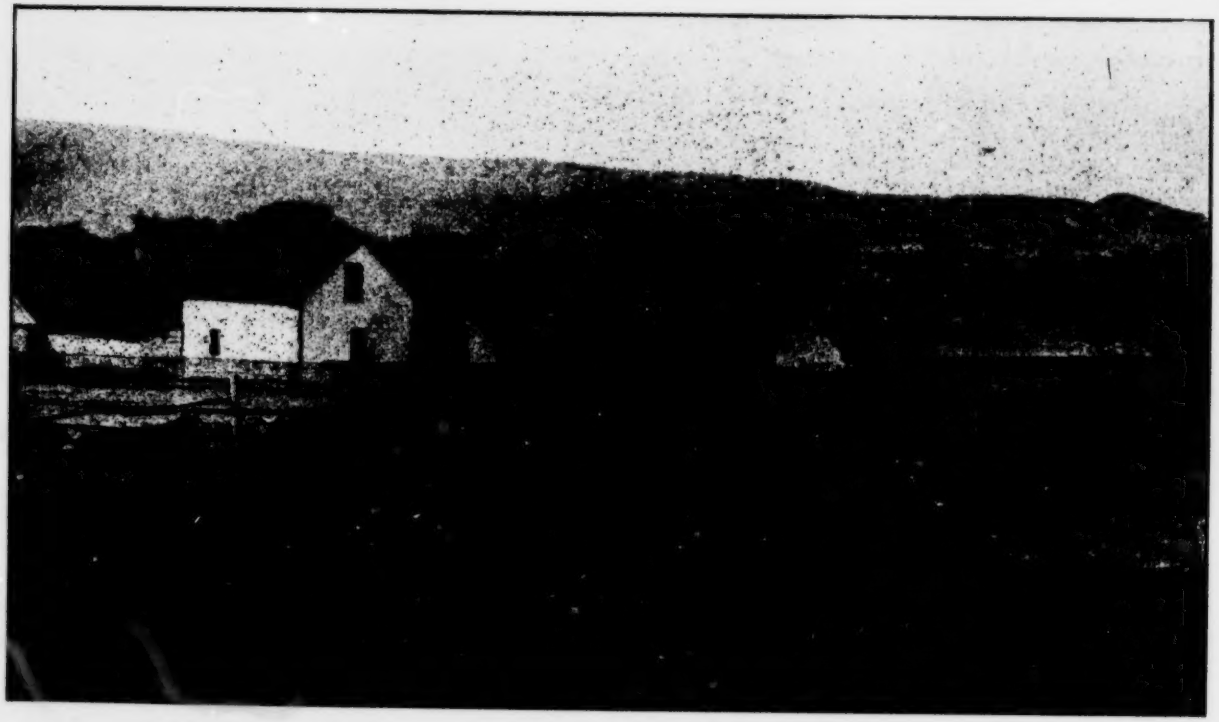
I have three draught horses, eleven head of horned cattle, sixteen pigs, and plenty of poultry.

I have supplied my farm with every kind of implements and machinery for tilling my land and also with sets of harness, &c.

MARJO GYÖRGY.

ESTERHAZ, July 19, 1902.

HOME OF MR. GEO. MARJO ON S.E. ¼ 12, 19, 2, W. 2.



HOME OF MARCIL AND J. MAGOSHEGYI IN THE QU'APPELLE VALLEY.

MAGOSHEGYI JOZSEF.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 6, Tp. 18, R. 28, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Magoshegyi Jozsef, of Tees, Veszprémmegye, Hungary, emigrated in 1892 to the United States of America ; having found there employment for six years. I left in 1898 for this country, and arrived in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz with my savings of $700.

I am now possessing 320 acres of good land, of which I have about 80 acres under cultivation. I may here mention that I have considerably increased my farming operations by entering into partnership with my neighbour, a Frenchman, who also own 320 acres of land. Together we leased for ten years the 640 acres, the property of a widow lady adjoining ours, and thus, with our united labours we succeeded last year in harvesting : Wheat, 3,700 bushels ; oats, 1,600 bushels ; barley, 700 bushels, besides all the supply of potatoes and garden vegetables needed for the household.

I am the owner of four draught horses and one colt, thirty head of horned cattle, and pigs and poultry sufficient in number for all our wants.

My farm is furnished with all the requisite implements, machinery and sets of harness. For occasional excursions with my family, I have purchased two fine carriages. A pretty Swiss cottage is our home and property. In the absence of my husband.

MAGOSHEGYI JOZSEFNE.
Born: REIBER ANNA.

QU'APPELLE VALLEY, Assa., July 21, 1902.

46

BARTOK ISTVAN.

Homestead: S.E. ¼ Sec. 2, Town. 19, Range 1, W. 2nd M.=160 acres.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Bartòk Istvàn, of Torna Ujfalu, Abaujmegye, Hungary, emigrated in the year 1884 to the United States of America, and after having laboured two years in that country I went to Canada and established myself in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, my family having joined me there some time after.

I am at present the owner of 160 acres of fine land, of which I have now under tillage 95 acres. I have harvested last year : Wheat, 715 bushels ; oats, 250 bushels ; rye, 20 bushels, and about 200 bushels of potatoes.

My live stock consists of three draught horses and sixteen head of horned cattle.

I wish to remark here that I have given in marriage one of my daughters, and that I helped two of my sons to become self-supporting farmers ; they own already properties equal in all respects to mine in size and value. To illustrate : My son Bertàlan, harvested last year a little over 1,200 bushels of wheat, and Gyula, 1,000 bushels of wheat and rye.

BARTÒK ISTVÀN.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

BRUYÀNSZKY JÀNOS.

Homestead: S.W. 14, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Bruyànszky Jànos, of F. Novaj, Abauj-Tornamegye, emigrated in 1882 to the United States of America, the following year, however, I had my family to join me. From thence we went to the Colony Esterhaz, Canada, where I arrived with my wife and children in 1888, and with $10 at my disposal.

We own now 640 acres of fine land ; we have ploughed up of this about 225 acres. We harvested last year : 2,602 bushels of wheat, 700 bushels of oats, and enough potatoes and garden vegetables for the use of my household.

I have six draught horses and one saddle horse, nineteen head of horned cattle, thirteen hogs and poultry in plenty.

My farm is furnished with every requisite, implements and machinery, sets of harness, &c., all for the use of tilling the land.

I wish to mention here that with the help of only two of my sons, I am able to do all the work on my farm, having last year made an income of over $1,200 or 3,000 fl. I have reason to be well satisfied, and not boastfully but with gratitude in my heart and to God, I make this statement according to facts.

BRUNYÀNSZKY JÀNOS.

ESTERHAZ, July 20, 1902.

BUNYÀK JÀNOS.

Homestead: S.E. ¼ 22, Tp. 19, R. 2, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Bunyàk Jànos, of Göncz, Abaujmegye, Hungary, a young, single man, emigrated in the year 1887, to the United States of America. Having found employment in that country I got married, and in 1892 we went to Canada and settled ourselves in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, with $180 in cash.

I am now the owner of 160 acres of land. I have ploughed up of this about 130 acres. Last year I harvested 1,380 bushels of wheat, 360 bushels of oats, 160 bushels of rye, and for our household use we gathered in an abundant crop of potatoes and vegetables, and I had 30 tons of hay.

I have five horses and two foals; twenty-seven head of horned cattle, and besides a sufficient number of hogs and a variety of poultry for the use of my household.

I am supplied with all necessary farming implements and machinery, and sets of harness, and for occasional pleasure excursions I own a light carriage.

The foregoing statement I have made conscientiously according to facts.

BUNYAK JÀNOS.

KAPOSVÀR, July 19, 1902.

DORY LORINCZ.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 14, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Dory Lörincz, of Vàralja, Bereghmegye, Hungary, emigrated to the United States of America in 1891, the following year I came here and joined the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada. I then sent for my family, and my wife brought with her $112.

At present I own 160 acres of land ; of this I ploughed up 60 acres. Last year I harvested 600 bushels of corn.

I have four yoke of oxen and twenty-three head of milking cows, and steers; also sufficient number of hogs and poultry to supply the wants of my household. My farm has all the requisite implements, machinery and harness for tilling the land.

I may mention here that my elder brother, Dory Mihaly, is also a settler in this colony and owner of a farm about equal to mine.

DORY LÖRINCZ.

ESTERHAZ, July 20, 1902.

GÖNCZY ISTVÀN.

Homestead: S.E. 16, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Göncz Istvàn, of Göncz-Ruszka, Abaujmegye, Hungary, have left my country for the United States of America in 1883 ; from thence I came to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada in 1889, with about $250 in cash.

I own now 320 acres of fine land, of which about 150 acres are under cultivation. My last year's crops yielded me : Oats, 366 bushels ; wheat, 1,496 bushels, and sufficient potatoes and garden vegetables for my household.

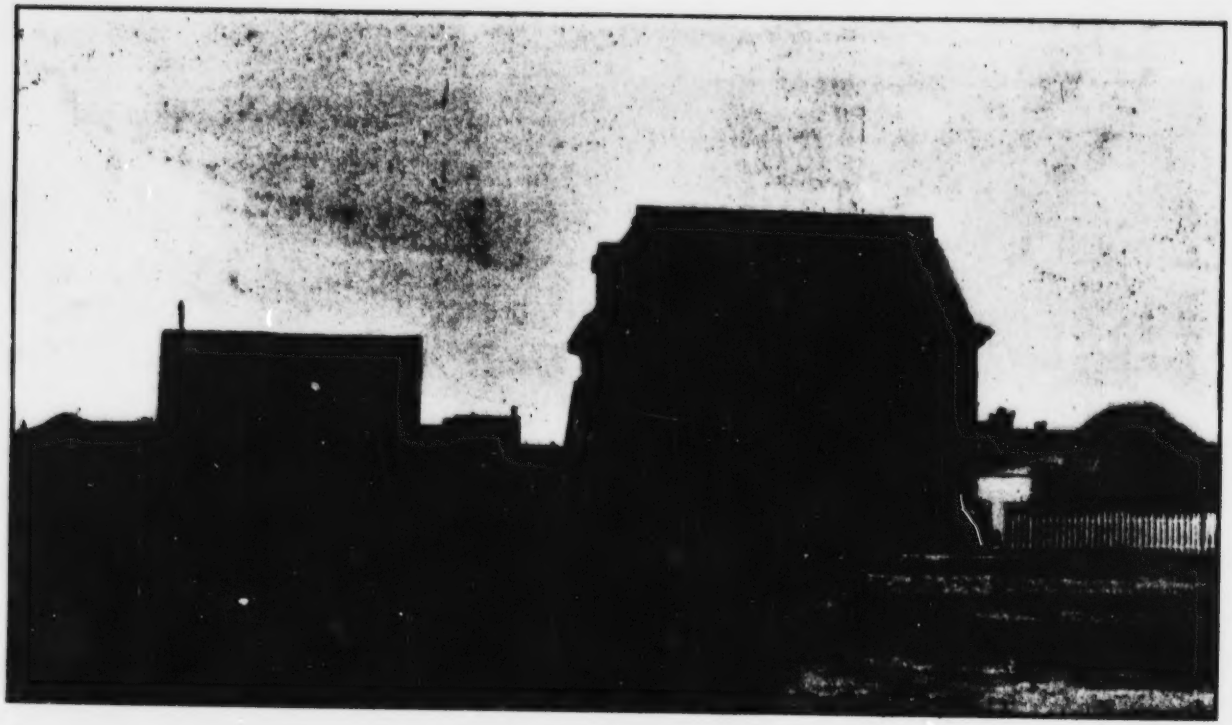
I have three draught horses and one colt, twenty head of horned cattle, and pigs and poultry enough in number for our use.

My farm is furnished with all the requisite machinery, implements and sets of harness used for tilling, &c., the land.

GÖNCZY ISTVÀN.

KAPOSVÀR, July 21, 1902.

WHITEWOOD, ASSINIBOIA STATION, CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.



ALHAMBRA HOTEL AT WHITEWOOD STATION.

GYURICSKA ISTVAN.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 5, Tp. 19A., R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Gyuricska Istvàn, of Örmezö, Szabolcsmegye, Hungary, together with my dear widowed mother, emigrated in 1889 to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada. I was then nineteen years old. After having worked for my dear mother for two years I got married and commenced then to farm my own land.

I am now the owner of 320 acres of fine land, of this I have under cultivation about 80 acres. Last year I harvested: Wheat, 700 bushels; oats, 400 bushels; corn, 62 bushels, besides potatoes and kitchen vegetables in great quantities.

I have three draught horses, twenty-one head of horned cattle, and for my family use plenty of pigs and poultry.

I realized from the sale of butter and vegetables last year about $60 or 150 fl.

All necessary farming implements and machinery, also set of harness supply the needs of tilling my land.

I make the above statement without boasting and entirely according to the facts prevailing.

GYURICSKA ISTVÀN.

KAPOSVÀR, July 20, 1902.

GYURICSKA LAJOS.

Homestead: N.W. ¼, Section 4, Tp. 19A., R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Gyuricska Lajos, of Örmezö, Szabolcsmegye, Hungary, with my widowed mother and brothers and sisters arrived in this country in 1889, and became settlers in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz. My dear mother brought with her, to my recollection, $300, I was at that time eighteen years old.

Being then the younger male child I had to help my mother with the work. After my marriage in 1895, in the spring of the same year, I commenced to work my own farm.

I am the owner at present of 480 acres of land, of this I have about 80 acres under cultivation. Last year I harvested 692 bushels of wheat, 340 bushels of oats, and 50 bushels of rye, besides a large crop of potatoes and a great variety of vegetables.

I own four draught horses, twenty-four head of horned cattle, a sufficient number of hogs and poultry.

By the sale of cattle and butter I made last year $225 or 562 fl. 50 kr.

My farm is equipped with all requisite farming implements and machinery and sets of harness.

GYURICSKA LAJOS.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

JANOCZKÓ JÀNOS.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ Sec. 2, Tp. 19, Range 1, W. 2nd M=160 acres.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Janoczkó Jànos, of Radvany, Abaujmegye, Puszta, Hungary, and now owner of the homestead above described, did emigrate at the age of twenty-four years to the United States of America. Two years after my arrival I established myself in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Assiniboia, Canada. At that time all my possessions consisted of the clothes on my back. Since then I have raised a family ; my children being still very young, I have taken up only 160 acres of land, of this I turned up about 95 acres, of which I put in seed 28 acres, which yielded me last year : Wheat, 805 bushels, and 15 acres of oats, of which I harvested 511 bushels. I had also a very fine and abundant crop of potatoes and every kind of vegetables for the use of my household. The land I have left unsown is now under cultivation. I have about 80 acres of it in wheat and oats.

I own four draught horses and ten head of horned cattle. Last year I realized $480 = 1,200 fl. cash by the sale of cattle and horses only. There are times when my wife earns $215=537.50 fl. by selling butter, eggs and other produce of our farm.

My farm is completely equipped with all requisite farming implements and machinery, all of which is unencumbered by debts. This I can conscientiously declare to be the truth.

JANOCZKÓ JÀNOS.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

53

KATRENSZKY ISTVAN.

Homestead: S.E. ¼ 12, Tp. 19, R. 2, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Katrenszky Istvàn, of Torna-Ùjfala, Abauj-Tornamegye, at the age of fourteen, in company of a few of our acquaintances, emigrated in the year 1882, to the United States of America. I worked very hard for many years, and having grown up to manhood I took to myself a wife, and in 1892 we went to Canada and became settlers in the Esterhaz Colony. I brought with me my savings of $600.

At present I am the owner of 320 acres of fine land, of which I have ploughed up about 70 acres. I harvested last year : 850 bushels of wheat, 400 bushels of oats, and 80 bushels of rye, and an abundant crop of potatoes and vegetables for the use of the household.

I have three draught horses and one foal ; eleven head of horned cattle and a drove of hogs, and a great variety of poultry.

By the sale last year of butter, eggs and hogs I made $80 or 200 fl.

My farm is provided with every farming implement and machinery requisite for tilling the land and harvesting.

KATRENSZY ISTVÀN.

ESTERHAZ, July 19, 1902.

KRUPPA JOZSEF.

Homestead: N. ½ 33, Tp. 18, Range 1.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Kruppa Jozsef, of Tornyos-Pàlcza, Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, emigrated in 1888, in company of several acquaintances, to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada. I was then eighteen years old, and a machinist apprentice.

I have arrived in this country not only without a cent of money, but towards the end of our journey, I had to borrow some from my companions. This condition of things, however, did not much inconvenience me here, because the threshing time having approached, I found work as day labourer, and it happened that during the operation of the steam thresher some delay was occasioned, also because of the unfitness of the machinist, I had an opportunity of

showing my knowledge of the component parts of the machine, and how to remedy its defects. It followed that the following year I was engaged in the capacity of machinist. Not boastfully, but to mark the appreciation here shown of skilled labour, I wish to state that, for repairs done in three days, of defective machinery which the experts of this neighbourhood could not put in working order, I received $45 or 112 fl. 50 kr., and even this the English man considered cheap, because of the distant factory where such damaged machines have to be sent to for repairs.

During the four years of my labours here, I became acquainted with the daughter of a widow lady, the French teacher residing in our colony, and made her my wife. It affords me very great pleasure to state here that my dear little wife does not only master our own beloved vernacular language but has already became a Hungarian lady par excellence. But this is not to be greatly wondered at since we had in our Hungarian Colony two Catholic priests, one of French parentage, Father Agapite Pagé, and our present parish priest, Father F. Woodcutter, of German extraction, who have so thoroughly acquired the knowledge of our language that in the last few years they preached their sermons in our church in the vernacular tongue of our country.

After my marriage I felt the wish of becoming myself an independent farmer. I have accordingly made myself the owner of 320 acres of fine land ; of this I have now only 72 acres under cultivation. I have harvested last year : Wheat, 984 bushels ; 115 bushels of oats, and an abundant crop of potatoes and kitchen vegetables to such an extent as to afford my dear wife an opportunity of making a clear profit by the sale of eggs and vegetables of $75 last year.

I have four draught horses and two colts, twenty-two head of horned cattle and all the pigs and poultry we need for our household.

My farm is supplied with all the requisite farming implements and machinery used for tilling the land, also sets of harness.

In conclusion, I wish to say that with my own steam threshing machine, which I bought for $2,400 or 6,000 fl., I make the round of the Hungarian farms in our colony, and only last year's threshing operation is showing the following results : Wheat, 52,000 bushels ; oats, 17,000 bushels, including also corn, rye and barley. For this service I have received $2,330 or 5,825 fl. Of course it must be remembered that of this amount I had a considerable outlay of wages paid to labourers, eleven in number, the other seventeen helps, consisted of the farmers themselves, who are agreed to assist each other in this particular labour.

KRUPPA JOZSEF.

ESTERHAZ, July 21, 1902.

KRISTÓF PÉTERNÉ.

Homesteads: S.W. ¼ Sec. 3, Town. 19A, Range 1, W. 2nd M=160 acres, and S.E. ¼ Sec. 4, Town. 19A Range 1, W. 2nd M.=160 acres.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

Kristóf Préterné, of Garadna, Abaujmegye, Hungary. I left the old country for the United States in 1883, there I found employment for two years, and sent for my wife and children to join me and remained in the States until 1890, when, in the month of March, we emigrated to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada, with $911 in our possession.

During the first few years in the colony we experienced many reverses, the severest of all being my sickness of three years' duration. As things changed for the better, however, I managed to own 320 acres of land, of this I have ploughed up about 87 acres. I harvested last year 1,198 bushels of wheat, 230 bushels of oats, 140 bushels of rye and 32 bushels of barley.

My live stock consists of four draught horses and two foals; fourteen head of horned cattle, twenty hogs, and a variety of poultry sufficient for the household.

My farm is supplied with all the requisite machinery and implements for tilling purposes, also with sets of harness.

In the absence of my husband I publicly make known the above facts.

KRISTÓF PÉTERNÉ.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

LOVÀSZ ISTVÀN.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 10, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Lovàsz Istvàn, of Göncz-Ruszka, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, emigrated to the United States of America in 1885. There I found employment, and had my family to come out and join me. In 1892 we emigrated to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, in Canada, where I arrived with $1,000 in my possession.

At present I am the owner of 160 acres of fine land, of which I have ploughed up about 100 acres. I harvested last year: Wheat, 810 bushels; oats, 530 bushels, and a large crop of burgundy turnips, potatoes and kitchen vegetables for household use.

I have three draught horses and three colts, twenty head of horned cattle, and pigs and poultry enough to supply our wants.

My farm has all the farming implements, machinery and sets of harness requisite for tilling, &c., the land.

LOVASZ ISTVÀN.

KAPOSVÀR, July 21, 1902.

NAGY GYÖRGY.

Homestead: S.W. ¼ 2, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Nagy György, of Örmezö Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, together with my son Lajos, who is still living with me, emigrated in 1888 to the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada, neither of us having at that time any money at our disposal.

At present I am the owner of 480 acres of fine land ; of this there are under cultivation about 115 acres. My last year's crop yielded me : Wheat, 840 bushels ; oats, 200 bushels; and corn 40 bushels; and potatoes and kitchen vegetables, for the use of the household, in great abundance.

I have three draught horses, fifty head of horned cattle, besides for our wants sufficient hogs and poultry. From the sales of cream and butter only—to the butter factory and to stores—I realized last year $150 or 375 fl.

My farm is supplied with all the requisite implements, machinery and sets of harness used for tilling the ground.

NAGY GYÖRGY.
and NAGY LAJOS.

KAPOSVÀR, July 18, 1902.

OROSZ MIHÁLY.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 16, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Orosz Mihaly, of Vizsoly, Abauj-Tornamegye, Hungary, at the age of eighteen I emigrated to the United States of America where I found employment and got married, and in 1888 we went to Canada and settled down in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz. The savings I brought with me amounted to $95.

I am at present the proprietor of 320 acres of fine land, of this I ploughed up about 120 acres. Last year my crops were : Wheat, 1,956 bushels, and 530 bushels of oats ; potatoes and garden vegetables in plenty for the household.

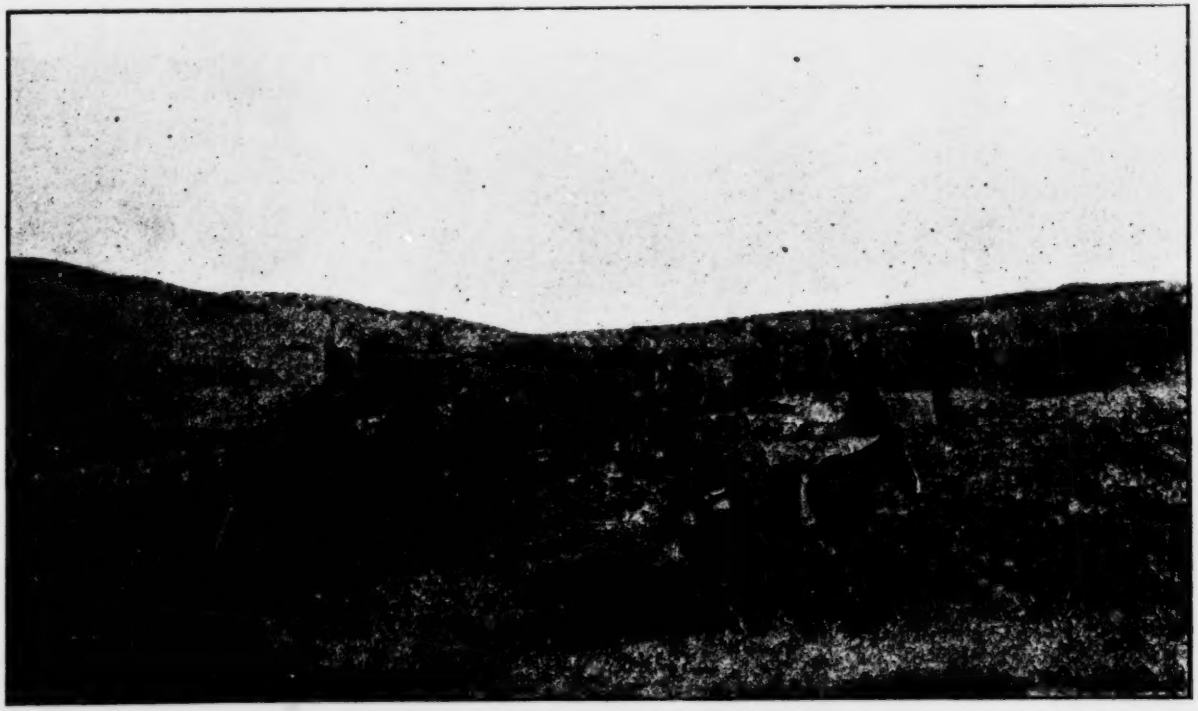
I own four horses and one colt, twenty head of horned cattle, a herd of pigs and a variety of poultry.

I sold last year butter and pigs, realizing $75 or 187 fl. 50 kr.

My farm is supplied with all the requisite farming implements and machinery, harness, &c., without being burdened by debts.

OROSZ MIHÁLY.

KAPOSVÀR, July 19, 1902.



GRADING ON 16, 19, 33, W. 1, NEW BRANCH LINE OF CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

HOME OF MR. IMRE PINKE ON 4, 18, 2, W. 2nd Mer.

WHITEWOOD, ASSINIBOIA,
CANADA, July 22, 1902.

I, Imre Pinke, of Bodayk Fehérmegye, Hungary, and now of section 4, township 18, range 2, west 2nd meridian, Assiniboia, North-west Territories, Canada, arrived in this country in April, 1895, and have settled on the homestead above described. I am now the owner of 320 acres of land, including the old homestead. During the seven years of my experience here I found the nature of the soil for farming purposes superior to any I have seen before, excepting in Hungary. The climate during winter and summer is healthy and most enjoyable ; there is abundance of wood and water. The grazing lands are excellent, and cattle are thriving well. I have built for myself and my family a large and commodious house. My family consists of my wife and five children. I have also built stables, granaries and outhouses for the use of my cattle, and for the household. Of my land I have 75 acres under cultivation. Last year my crops yielded as follows : Wheat, 900 bushels ; oats and rye, 475 bushels ; potatoes, 85 bushels. My live stock consists of horned cattle, 85 head ; horses, 15 ; hogs, 13, and about 160 domestic fowls, ducks, geese, &c. I have my own buggy, wagons, ploughs, sleighs, harness and every description of farming implements. I safely estimate the value of my unencumbered property at $5,000, and my annual income at $2,200, which includes the profits of my business in the cattle trade. Considering that only seven years ago I have commenced this business, and farming here about with a capital of $500, I think the results I have shown will speak for themselves favourably enough to recommend this country to every industrious and honest farmer of Hungary. I can conscientiously say that there is no better land for the poor but hard-working people in the world than Canada.

IMRE PINKE.

JOSEPH KNOUREK.

Homestead: W. ½ Sec. 12, Township 9A, Range 2, W. 2nd Mer.

ESTERHAZ, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA,

With pleasure I avail myself of the opportunity of communicating my experience to those who may intend emigrating to Canada from the old country.

I arrived here in the year 1887 from Nova Silki in southern Russia, having been born in Bohemia.

When I arrived here I possessed $110. I then took up a quarter section as a homestead for $10. Six years after my arrival I bought another quarter section of Canadian Pacific Railway Company's land for $3 an acre, which together with my homestead, makes altogether an area of 320 acres.

I have over 80 acres under cultivation, and this year I have put in 45 acres of wheat, 7 acres of oats, the balance being summer fallow.

My farms have good substantial buildings, viz., house, granary and stabling, with fences all around, and splendid water.

I have 5 working horses and 2 colts, 24 head of cattle ; all machinery as wagon, binder, seeder, mower, ploughs, harrows, &c.

This is the country where a poor man gets a chance to make a good and comfortable living. Even if he should come without means, he will soon be able to call himself independent. For myself I would never ask for any better country and should be pleased to see a great many new settlers coming here. There is room for millions yet. As I am one of the first settlers, at the same time postmaster of the Esterhaz post office, I think that I should make use of this opportunity in telling my experience, to thank at the same time the founder of this colony, Count Paul J. d'Esterhaz, who has proved, by the selection of this beautiful colony of the same name, that he had the welfare of his countrymen at heart.

JOS. KNOUREK.

ESTERHAZ, ASSA., September 13, 1902.

HOME OF MR. J. KNOUREK ON W. ½ 12, 19A, 2, W. 2.

HOME OF MR. J. HERMANSKY ON S. ½ 1, 19, 2 W. 2nd.

FRANK HERMANSZKY.

Homestead: S. ½ Sec. 1, Township 19, Range 2, W. 2nd Mer.

ESTERHAZ, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, the undersigned settler of the Esterhaz Colony arrived here in the year 1889 from Nova Silki, in southern Russia.

On my arrival I brought with me the sum of $450 (four hundred and fifty dollars), and a family of three children.

I then bought a quarter section from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for $245. Five years ago I bought another Canadian Pacific Railway Company's quarter for $220. This year I availed myself of the privilege that every male settler of 18 years of age enjoys, by taking up a free homestead for $10, so that at present I am the owner of three-quarter sections.

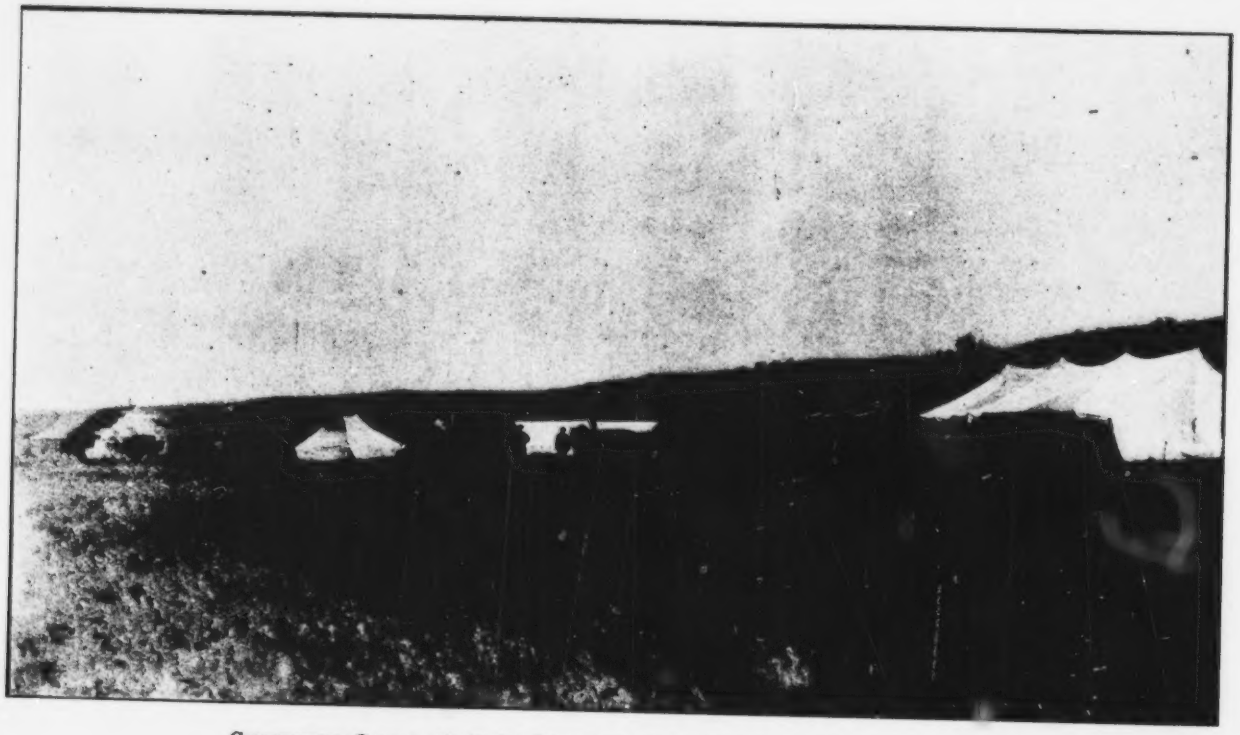
I own 5 working horses, 13 head of cattle, all necessary farm machinery and everything else necessary for the making of a farm out here.

This year I have put in 45 acres of wheat, and 10 acres of oats, a small quantity of barley and rye for feeding purposes.

I may say that I am greatly pleased with Canada, and I would never think of going back to the country I came from. There is a market for everything here, so that a man who is at all willing to work, is able to make a good living, and moreover accumulate enough profit to ensure himself an independent existence.

FRANK HERMANSZKY.

ESTERHAZ, ASSA., September 13, 1902.



CONSTRUCTION CAMP ON 16, 19, 33, W. 1, NEW BRANCH LINE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

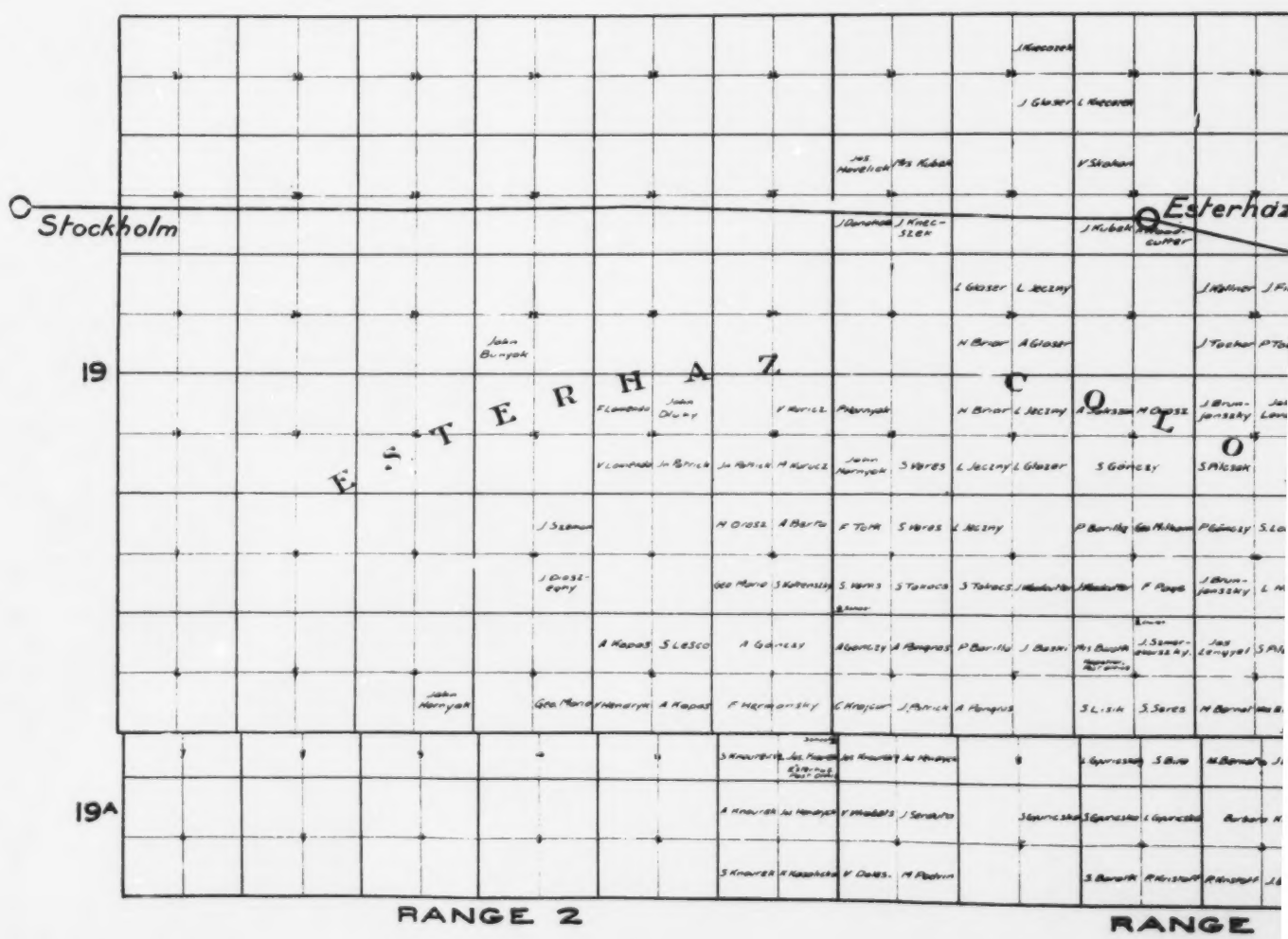
MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF ORIGINAL

HOMESTEADS OF HUNGARIANS

IN THE

ESTERHAZ COLONY

Townships 19A. 19-Ranges 1 & 2.



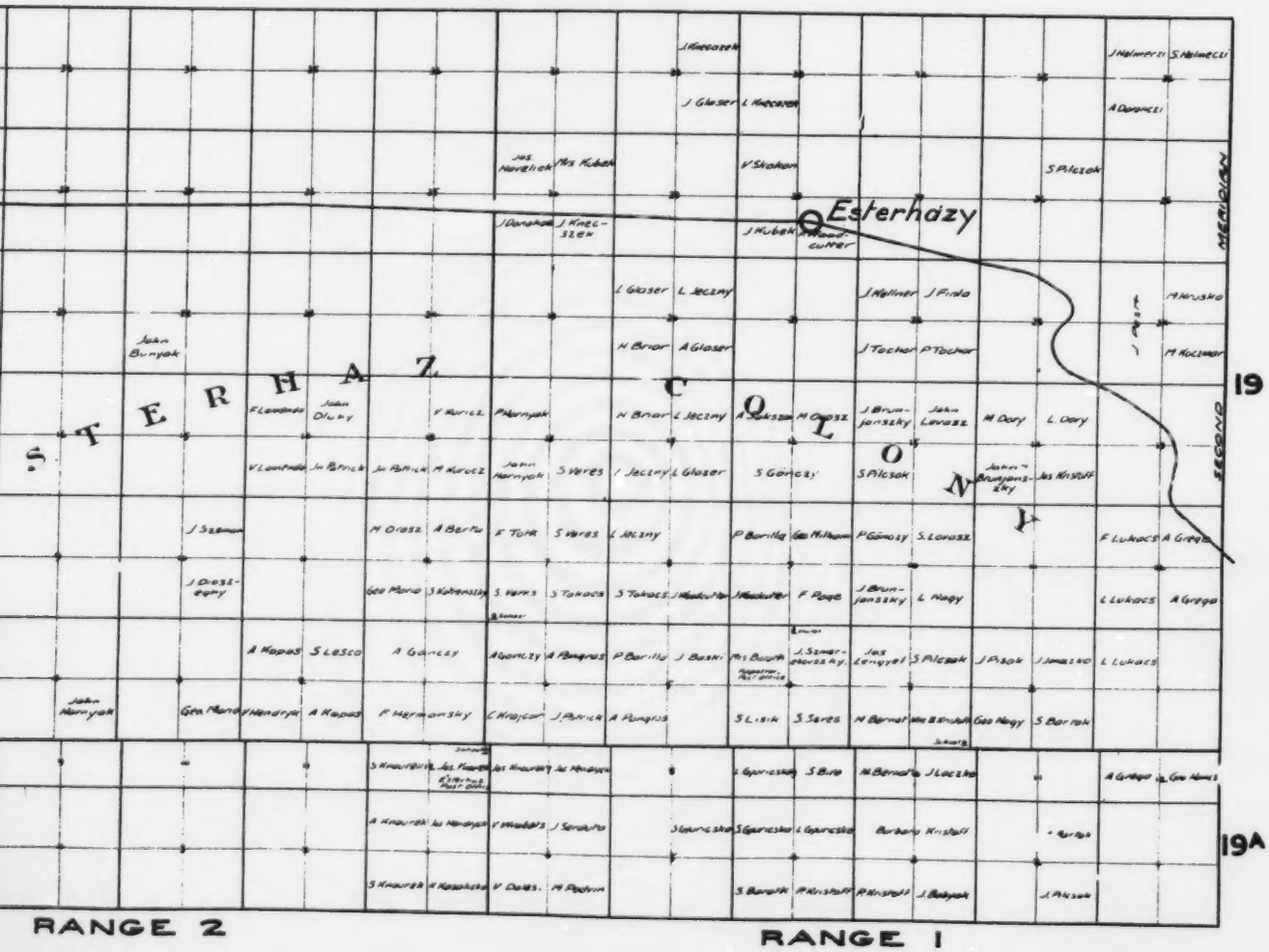
MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF ORIGINAL

HOMESTEADS OF HUNGARIANS

IN THE

ESTERHAZ COLONY

Townships 19A. 19-Ranges 1 & 2.



65

SZIKORA MIHÀLY.

Homestead: S.E. ¼ 34, Tp. 18, R. 1, 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Szikora Mihàly, of Örmezö, Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, together with all my family emigrated in 1888 to the Hungarian Colony, Esterhaz, in Canada. Not only without any money, but with a debt of $70 for expenses on the road, did we arrive in this country.

I am now the owner of 320 acres of fine land, of this I have ploughed up 70 acres. My last year's crops yielded me : Wheat, 904 bushels ; oats, 250 bushels, and a sufficient supply of potatoes and kitchen vegetables for the use of my household.

I own three draught horses, six head of horned cattle, and pigs and poultry enough for our wants.

My farm has all the requisite implements, machinery and sets of harness used for tilling, &c., the land.

I wish to mention here that last year I built a one-story house, roofed with shingles, for shelter of my family ; it cost me about $400.

SZIKORA MIHÀLY.

KAPOSVÀR, July 22, 1902.

TÒTH FERENCZ.

Homestead: N.W. ¼ 7, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Tòth Ferencz, of Tórnyos-Pàlca, Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, departed from my country in 1887 with the intention of becoming a settler in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, Canada, finding myself, however, short of money in Montreal I was compelled to stay in that city for eight months and to make some wages after which time only I could make it possible to reach the end I had in view.

At present I am the owner of 320 acres of land, of this I have now under cultivation about 150 acres. My crops yielded me last year : 1,266 bushels of wheat and 200 bushels of oats, 80 sacks of potatoes, and plenty of garden vegetables.

I own five draught horses, two yoke of oxen, four cows in milk and three calves, sixteen hogs and plenty of poultry.

My farm is supplied with every requisite farming implements and machinery, also two sets of harness, for which I have already paid more than $1,000 or 2,500 fl.

TÒTH FERENCZ.

ESTERHAZ, July 19, 1902.

VERES ISTVÀN.

Homestead: N.E. ¼ 7, Tp. 19, R. 1, W. 2nd M.

ESTERHAZ COLONY,
KAPOSVÀR, ASSINIBOIA, CANADA.

I, Veres Istvàn, of Örmezö, Szabòlcsmegye, Hungary, emigrated together with my family in 1887 to Canada. We became settlers in the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz, having received $140 from the old country.

At present we own 480 acres of land ; of this we have about 160 acres under cultivation. Our last year's crop yielded us : Wheat, 1.552 bushels ; oats, 188 bushels ; corn, 75 bushels ; about 100 sacks of potatoes, and every kind of garden vegetables in sufficient quantities.

We have five draught horses and one colt, seven head of horned cattle, thirty-two hogs, and a great variety of poultry.

Our farm is supplied with all the necessary farming implements and machinery, also double harness.

I have made the above statement in the absence of my husband.

VERES ISTVÀN.
Signed by their son, VERES PISTA.

ESTERHAZ, July 19, 1902.

NOTE.—The following are always ready to answer inquiries :—

In Europe—

MR. W. T. R. PRESTON,
Canadian Commissioner of Emigration,
17 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,
LONDON, ENGLAND.

In Canada—

MR. FRANK PEDLEY,
Superintendent of Immigration,
OTTAWA, ONTARIO.

HARVEST OF 1902.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

LAND DEPARTMENT,

F. T. GRIFFIN,
Land Commissioner.

J. E. FORSLUND,
Immigration Agent.

IMMIGRATION BRANCH,
WINNIPEG, MAN., October 30, 1902.

COUNT P. D'ESTERHAZY,
265 West 130th Street,
New York City.

DEAR COUNT,—I send you herewith the result of this year's harvest of twelve of the men whose statements you have before :

Name.	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Rye.
	Bush.	Bush.	Bush.	Bush.
Stephen Barath	1,000	400	100	100
John Babijak	1,400	400	50	75
Joseph Szmerekovszky	1,000	200		
Alex. Gönczy	1,500	500		
George Mario	1,500	800	100	150
George Hanics	1,400	500	200	150
Stephen Katrenszky	1,400	400	100	75
Louis Gönczy	1,580	1,275		
Stephen Pilcsak	600	300		
Francis Hermanszky	1,000	500	35	30
Joseph Knoureck	1,050	550		
Joseph Lengyel	1,500	750	75	

I trust that this information will be satisfactory.

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN E. FORSLUND.

VI. ANNOTATIONS

These annotations, which at times tend to transcend simple comments and explanations in attempting to reveal relationships, trends and patterns as well, are arranged in the sequential order of the pages, which contain the statements, persons, photographs and other matters annotated.

An essential component of the annotation to the accounts of individual settlers is in each case the last paragraph, which condenses into symbols and figures some major features of the pre-immigrational socio-economic background of the farmer concerned. The settler's place of origin is the Hungarian name at the beginning of the paragraph, which precedes a bracketed designation representing the County (of pre-1914 Hungary) in which the former was situated. The detailed information following the name(s) and homestead number(s) of the person(s) concerned pertains to that person or those persons who had originated from the same locality in Hungary. With respect to statistical and other data concerning the places of origin in all or some of the years 1851, 1882, 1897, 1898 and 1913, the symbols *FE*, *Gr* and *Hr** indicate the sources. The abbreviation Kh** represents a unit of measure equal to 1.42 acres or 0.57 hectare.

**FE*: Elek Fényes, *Magyarország Geográphiai Szótára* ("A Geographical Dictionary of Hungary"). 3 vols., Pest: Kozma Vazul, 1851.

Gr: Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, *A Magyar Korona Országainak Gazdaczimtára* ("Hungarian Royal Central Office of Statistics, *The Landed-estate Gazetteer of the Countries of the Hungarian Crown*"). Budapest: Pesti, 1897.

Hr: M.K.K.S.H., *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Helvségnévtára* ("The H.R.C.O. of Statistics, *The Gazetteer of the Countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown*"). Budapest: Pesti, 1882, 1898, or 1913.

**Kh stands for the Hungarian *Katasztrális hold* ("cadastral yoke"—the amount of land that could be ploughed by a yoke of oxen in one day).

(Page 1)* Title Page

In 1900 *Esterhaz* is described in the following terms: "a post office on Section 12, Tp.11, Rg.2 west of 2nd Mer. Mails weekly from Whitewood, distant 25 miles. KNOUREK, J., postmaster and general store" (*Henderson's Manitoba Northwest Territories Gazetteer and Directory*, vol. 22, 1900, p. 89). But the name does not appear in subsequent volumes. See also ann. to p. 60. The 1875 Ordinance of the North-West Territories was complemented by the Order-in-Council of May 8, 1882. As a result, the Territories were divided into the provisional districts of Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan (cf. Orders-in-Council 1882, P.C. 982, DI, May 8, 1882). It was not until 1905 that Assiniboia became part of the new Province of Saskatchewan.

The photographs forming the basis of the illustrative material in the pamphlet were taken and processed by the Winnipeg photographer, F. D. Blakely, who accompanied the author of the booklet, Paul O. Esterhazy, to the Colony in July, 1902 (interview with Istvan Szmerekovszky, 86 years of age, Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, October 20, 1972, who is still in possession of one of the original prints of the photograph on p. 31 of the pamphlet, displaying the name of the photographer).

The text of the title page in the first manuscript of the author was worded as follows: "The Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, Canada and its people. From 1885 to the present day. Illustrated with photographic views taken July 1902." (Esterhazy to his wife, Whitewood Station, Assiniboia, N.W.T., July 15, 1902, POEP LS). Esterhazy's personal papers to which the present writer obtained access and extensive Canadian government correspondence prove beyond doubt Esterhazy's authorship and editorship of the pamphlet.

(Page 3) Dedication

Esterhazy's intention had originally been to inscribe the pamphlet in the following manner:

> "To Sir William C. Van Horne and to the Officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway the following Work is respectfully dedicated by the Author."

(Esterhazy to his wife, Whitewood Station, Assinibioa, N.W.T., July 15, 1902, POEP LS). Of course, Sir William C. Van Horne had played an important part in facilitating the establishment of the Colony in 1886. The CPR Company was, in 1902 as well, instrumental in enabling Esterhazy to undertake his visit to the Colony and to compile his pamphlet (see, for instance, his letter to his wife, Montreal, July 5, 1902, POEP LS). The Hungarian phrase "Éljen a Magyar!" ("Cheer the Magyar!")

* For pages 1 and 3 of the pamphlet, see also "Esterhaz", Chapter II, 1.

is an emotional exclamation, revealing P. O. Esterhazy's Kossuthist liberal leaning. The phrase may derive from the refrain of the *Kossuth Song* (a folk-song), which old-timers in Hungarian-Canadian settlements would still sing with tears in their eyes, and which at the beginning of the century constituted a frequent item at Hungarian gatherings (e.g., in Winnipeg and at Howell on March 15, 1909, as announced by the *Kanadai Magyarság* on March 5, 1909). That the phrase meant more than a 'phrase' for Esterhazy can be seen from the fact that he again used it shortly before his death in a letter (*CMF*, October 11, 1912).

(Page 5) **"The Pioneer Settlers of the Esterhaz Colony. 1885 to 1888."**

In the Hungarian version: "The Pioneers and Founders of the Hungarian Colony Esterhaz. 1885-1888." These years, if meant to indicate the range of arrival of the pioneers, are incorrect. Two immigrants, for instance, giving an account of the backgrounds later on in the pamphlet (P. Kristoff and S. Lovasz, both on p. 55), had come to Canada in 1890 and 1892 respectively. The list of names as well seems inaccurate. Lajos Gönczy and György Hanics, who had arrived at the very beginning of the settlement in 1886 and who are listed thus in the pamphlet (pp. 33 and 37), do not appear in the picture. Seven of the men were not asked to or did not produce a statement of their progress to be included in the pamphlet:

1) Mihály Bernát, Sr. (1826-?). Residing on SW 3, 19, 1* from 1888, came from Örmezö in Szabolcs County (HF DI 511 068).

2) Pál Barilla (1856-1932). Born in Szerencs (Zemplen County), he worked in the United States 1884-87. Returning to Hungary, bought a small farm at Mezözombor (Zemplén County). In 1893, he again went to the United States, and in 1895 settled down in the Colony. By 1902, Barilla owned NW 5, 19, 1 and NW 9, 19, 1 (HF DI 343 768), interview with son János Barilla, 88, Esterhazy, on August 31, 1973.

3) János Hornyák (1855-1922). A native of Vilmány (Abauj-Torna County), he built a house on SW 18, 19, 1 in 1886 and, in 1900, bought SE 4, 19, 2 for $3 per acre (HF DI 18 740 and 278 159).

4) Mihály Kurucz (1834-1927). Coming from Vizsoly (Abauj-Torna County), Kurucz had been in residence on SE 13, 19, 2 since July, 1886 (HF DI 601 392).

5) János Laczko (1855-1918). Born at Vilmány (Abauj-Torna County), came to the Colony in 1886 after some time spent in Cleveland, United States. He and family abandoned NE 10, 19A, 1 in the spring of 1887 and went to Fort William (Thunder Bay), but returned and bought back the same quarter-section from the CPR in May, 1897 (HF DI 309 400), interview with Miss Anna Laczko, 75, Esterhazy, on October 9, 1972.

*The figures represent Section, Township and Range in this order and, unless stated otherwise, west of the Second Meridian.

6) John Petrik (1854-1919). Son of Stephen Petrik, from whom he inherited SE 6, 19, 1 on the latter's death in March, 1892. His certificate of naturalization of March 8, 1897 says "formerly of Slavonia in Austria" (No. 449542). He was identified by informants as "a Slovak with good knowledge of Hungarian". His own homestead was SW 13, 19, 2. By 1902, he had come from Örmezö (Szabolcs County), and resided on SE 2, 7) János Pilcsák (1827-?). According to certificate of naturalization of January 16, 1896: "formerly of Armezzo, Hungary"; in other words, he had come from Örmezö (Szabolcs County), and resided on SE 2, 19A, 1 from 1890. He was the elder brother of Istvan Pilcsak, Sr., (see ann. to p. 38), and later returned to Hungary (HF DI 454 240), interview with Istvan Szmerekovszky, 87, For Qu'Appelle, Sask., April 5, 1973.

The names A. Gonczgy and M. Kurncz in the caption are misspelled. It is quite striking that 14 of the 23 'pioneers' and 7 of the 16 settlers whose statements are incorporated in the pamphlet (but who are not included in the "pioneer settlers photograph"), or in total 21 out of 39 heads of family, had come to the Colony after some stay in the United States.

(Page 7-12) P. O. Esterhazy's historical chapter contains a brief summary of the past of the Colony (see Chapter II above).

(Page 13) **Statistical Survey of the Colony**

The 125,000 acres mentioned as reserved in June 1885 was only the Dominion Land Office portion, that is, most of the even-numbered sections of the 12 townships set aside for the purpose. According to Esterhazy's calculation, the combined population of Esterhaz and Kaposvar numbered 900 souls in 200 families giving an average family size of four-and-a-half persons. However the sectional map at the end of the pamphlet does not show more than about 130 families of which some are non-Magyars. — Esterhazy errs in claiming four school houses in the Colony. Esterhaz, indeed, possessed the R.C. Public School District No. 28 established in 1889 (*North-West Territories Gazette*, January 1, 1890, pp. 2-3) and the Protestant Separate S.D., No. 138 of which the name was changed to "Kolin" P.S.S.D. No. 138 earlier in 1902 (*ibid.*, May 31, 1902, p. 7). On the other hand Kaposvar's only school at that stage was the St. Istvan R.C. Public S.D. No. 31, set up in 1890 (*ibid.*, January 1, 1891, pp. 12-13). But of course, Esterhazy could have been told about the intention of some farmers in the northern part of Kaposvar and further north to set up a new school district. None the less, this was not established until the beginning of 1903 when it became known as the Sumner S.D. No. 804 (*ibid.*, March 14, 1903, p. 4). As to produce in 1901, the farmers whose statements are included in the pamphlet har-

vested a total of about 35,000 bushels of wheat and about 13,000 bushels of other grain crops.

They indicated the possession of about 8700 acres of land of which about 3500 acres were broken up and ploughed, and claimed to have about 620 head of horned cattle and about 130 horses.

The above totals roughly calculated tend to reveal a slightly more favourable economic position in respect of Esterhazy's sample group than with regard to the whole population of the Colony.

(Page 14)* **Parochial House at Kaposvar**
NE 4, 19, 1. Rev. Father Woodcutter.

In 1902 the rectory was the most solid and at the same time the only stone building in the Colony. It appears that during construction the priest of Kaposvar carried most of the field-rocks with his own horses. The building costs were contributed by the parishioners. As the building contained ten rooms and was of distinguished appearance the colonists often referred to it as the 'mansion' (cf. SLK SPAR, p. 23). The caption of the same photograph in the Hungarian version also contains, after the name of the priest, the word *telkész*. This Hungarian word means 'real-estate agent' and is an obvious and possibly intended misprint for the term 'lelkész' which means 'priest' (see ann. to pp. 15-17 as well).

(Page 18)** **The Hungarian Congregation of Esterhaz and Kaposvar**

Members of the Roman Catholic congregation are shown in the photograph after church service on Sunday, July 13, 1902. Every service constituted a social occasion as well in those days since people stayed on after it in front of the church building, exchanging the latest news and discussing matters of importance. This was Esterhazy's first Sunday in the Colony. He can be seen standing in the first row third figure from the right, much taller in his bowler hat than the women next to him. The house is the second church building of the congregation in time sequence. The first had burned down towards the end of the last century on which occasion also the early church records were destroyed. Also the Rev. Woodcutter can be seen in the first row, fourth figure from the far left. Both the Union Jack and the Hungarjan flag are displayed on the flagpole. Many of the younger women seem to conform to urban fashion in hats and dresses of light colours. Many of the elderly women appear in garments after the style of those traditionally worn by country women in Hungary. Note large bell on belfry-scaffold in the foreground, which also signalled time, funeral and danger.

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*For pages 15-17 see Chapter III, 3 above.
**For pages 19-22 see Chapter III, 4 above.

(Page 23) **Lake Esterhaz on 7, 19, 1**

The lake is about the size of a quarter section (160 acres) but, of course, of irregular shape. The largest portion of it lies on the southern half of 7, 19, 1 with about one-fifth on the northern half of 6, 19, 1. The name comes from the vicinity of the one-time Esterhaz School, of which the building is still located on SW 7, 19, 1. The quarter-section SE 7, 19, 1 was the original centre of Esterhaz Colony and the homestead was registered for a while in the name of P. O. Esterhazy. According to Istvan Takacs (see ann. to p. 26 below) of SE 7, 19, 1 "many flocks of wild ducks" could be found on the lake.

(Page 24) **Home of Mr. Stephen Bartah** (should read Barath) on SW 4, 19A, 1 (the Hungarian version of the name "Barath Istvan" — where the surname is followed by the first name — appears on p. 25). Mr. and Mrs. Barath are seated on the right in the photograph: P. O. Esterhazy is in the center; Rev. Woodcutter is on the far left. The man in the light suit is probably J. E. Forslund of the CPR Land Department (cf. "The Hungarian Colony", *The Nor'West Farmer*, Winnipeg, July 21, 1902). The man standing next to the door seems to be Lajos Gonczy, one of the guides of Esterhazy's party (also see ann. to p. 25).

(Page 25) **Barath, Istvan (Stephen Barath), SW 4, 19A, 1 (Kaposvar).** 1839-1913 (HF DI 249978; RIK, 1900-14). According to the Hungarian version of the pamphlet (p. 25) Barath was born at Garadna, Abauj County, Hungary; emigrated to the U.S. in 1879; nine years later he immigrated to Canada without any savings. — In February 1889 he already resided on SW 4, 19A, 1 and had married the widow (with four children) of a certain "Bernard (Bernath) killed on the CPR. Succeeded to her late husband's homestead": NW 4, 19, 1 (RS, p. 5). Barath had not built a house until 1893 as he probably lived in his wife's house on NW 4, 19, 1 where he also functioned as the post-master of Kaposvar post office from August 8, 1891 (A. M. Provick, "History of Post Offices of Esterhazy and District", *Esterhazy Observer*, May 26, 1955 Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Special Edition). On March 3, 1891 Barath obtained naturalization. In 1900 he states that he stays six months on his quarter section and another six months on his wife's homestead (HF DI 249978). Mrs. Barath's (1837-1929) maiden name Maria Pilcsak and her birthplace, Örmezö in Hungary, indicate her kinship with Istvan Pilcsak, (1855-1933) (see *RIK*, 1915-1967 and ann. to p. 38). The Baraths were highly respected both within and outside the Hungarian community: ". . . Stephen Barratt . . . (was) one of the finest, most courteous Hungarians I ever knew . . ." Hawkes recalls his visit in 1889 to the Baraths and speaks of the "mountain semi-barbaric music" produced by Mrs. Barath's daughter, which held Hawkes "spell-bound" (J. Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatch-*

ewan and its People, 3 vols., Chicago-Regina: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924, vol. II, p. 693). For reference concerning Mrs. Barath's efficiency as a farmer's wife and gardener see ann. to p. 20 of the pamphlet. To this may be added a news item (*Kanadai Magyarság*, October 16, 1908) according to which "Istvan Barat Sr. post master and commissioner of Kaposvar collected 18 of the first and second prizes at the Stockholm (Saskatchewan) agricultural exhibition of September 30".

Santha very properly stresses the social significance of the post office as a place of community contact on "mail days" (SPAR, Local Histories — Esterhazy, file 316: Santha MSS, V, pp. 2-3). Also the very fact of being in charge of the post office was an indication of status and authority within the Colony. Thus it is not without significance that Barath's statement and the photography of his house precede all others in the pamphlet.. Furthermore, Barath tended to be the spokesman of the group to Esterhazy and of the latter to the group. — Concerning Garadna, Barath's place of origin in Hungary see the item below.

Garadna (Abauj-Torna). Istvan Barath (SW 4, 19A, 1), Peter Kristoff (SW 3, 19A, 1; SE 4, 19A, 1). Village. In district Szikszo. 1851: 472 Hungarians and Ruthenians. Landlord: the City of Kassa (*FE* II 37). 1882: 88 houses, 631 Hungarians and Ruthenians. 2032 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 261). 1897: landlord: the Garadna Lessee Association (Proprietor: the City of Kassa). 449 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 268). 1898: 99 houses, 625 Hungarians, 2031 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 216). — 1913: 122 houses. 709 Hungarians. 2032 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 600).

(Page 26) **Takacs, Istvan (Stephen Takacs) SE 7, 19, 1.** — 1860-1948 (R.C. Interment Records, 1915-1961, Kaposvar). In 1897, a year after his arrival in Canada and Esterhaz, Takacs acquired SE 7, 19, 1 from the CPR by purchase. The actual agreement of purchase between himself and L. A. Hamilton, Land Commissioner, CPR was dated December 21, 1900 (HF DI 609689). — This quarter-section is of great historical interest: it was to have been the homestead of P. O. Esterhazy but he never completed an "entry", he never resided in the house erected on it (R. S. Park Homestead Inspector's report of October 24, 1890; No. 1673, HF DI 196987). However, this piece of land is identical with the quarter-section selected as the site of the village Esterhaz and recommended as such by the first group of the Hungarian settlers of the Colony and their leader P. O. Esterhazy (RG 17, I-1, vol. 490, F 53761, June 24, 1886). As the village did not come into existence and Esterhazy, as a salaried immigration agent of the government, was obliged to travel widely, Julius Vass, the ill-fated secretary of the immigration venture, was asked by Esterhazy to act as the superintendent of the Colony and the postmaster of the newly-established Esterhaz Post Office which was then duly accommodated in the house erected on the quarter-section

(cf. Report of Count P. O. Esterhazy, December 31, 1886, *SP*, No. 12, 1887, pp. 237-238).

Returning to Istvan Takacs, his place of origin in Hungary was Vizsoly (Abauj-Torna) the same as that of Mihaly Orosz: see ann. to p. 56.

Korlát (Abauj-Torna County).Mrs. Istvan Takacs, nee Erzsébet Galjas (SE 7, 19, 1). Village in district Göncz. 1851: 1006 Hungarians. (*FE* II, 248). 1882: 114 houses. 722 Hungarians. 1453 Kh. Nearest post office: Vizsoly (Hr. 1882, 439). 1897: landlord: József Téglássy 561 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 266-7). 1898: 111 houses. 707 Hungarians. 1452 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 371). 1913: 128 houses. 608 Hungarians. 1453 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 802).

(Page 27) **Home of S. Takacs on SE 7, 19, 1**

As the main purpose of the photograph is obviously to illustrate the impressive growth of the crop by showing it off against a human figure, presumably that of Istvan Takacs, standing in the middle of vegetation, not much can be seen of the house. According to a sworn statement of November 19, 1908 his house was a shingle roof frame structure 18′ by 20′. He had bought the land from the CPR on November 3, 1900 for $850 and paid it off by December 26, 1906. (HF DI 609 689). Note at the center of the photograph the large heap of stones.

(Page 28) (In the Hungarian version:) **The tanya of Mr. Jozsef Lengyel. NW 3, 19, 1.** The term *tanya* refers to the scattered farm-like settlement type of the Great Plains of Hungary. The house was erected in 1886. The details of a 'company-house' (built by the CPR Company) are clearly discernible: a frame-board-shingle roof construction of 20′ by 16′ dimensions. The lean-to structure on the right appears to be a fairly recent addition, probably a kitchen. The various animals in the picture are there, no doubt, for the benefit of the viewer. The members of the family are in their Sunday-best clothes. However, two of the children are missing. According to Lengyel's sworn statement of June 1, 1886 the children of the family numbered five (cf. HF DI 358520) the grindstone on the left is essential for the sharpening of the tools and implements and it appears in other pictures as well (see pp. 39 & 60).

(Page 29) **Lengyel, Jozsef, NW 3, 19, 1**

1851- ? — Born in Felsö-Méra in Hungary (in respect of which see information below) he and his family came to Canada after a stay of three years in the coal regions of the USA. Lengyel was one of the earliest settlers of the Colony, listed already in February 1889 as being on the above homestead (RS, p. 330).

It is instructive to compare the economic position of this settler in February 1889 with that in 1901 (the data in brackets refer to the

latter year). Amount of land: 160 (320) acres (the additional quarter-section does not appear on the sectional map at the end of the pamphlet, nor on the AR, 1905; so it must have been farther away from the Colony. Indeed, some years later the Lengyels moved away from the Colony.) Land already broken up: 40 (135) acres. Crops: wheat 300 (1000-1500) bushels; oats 15 (400-500) bushels; potatoes and vegetables unspecified. Animals: 4 oxen, 3 cows, 3 young cattle (7 head), 1 pig (23), 13 fowls ('plenty'), horses (4 + 1).

It is relevant to mention that the Lengyels seem to be on good terms with the Baraths (see ann. to p. 25), as the couple act as witnesses for Lengyel on July 30, 1892 (HF DI 358520). One reason for this may be the relative closeness of the Lengyel homestead to the Baraths (NW 4, 19, 1) and the common interest in farming and gardening. Indeed, Lengyel is mentioned in an early *SP* (No. 4, 1888 p. 176-7) as one of the "most successful farmers in the Colony" while Mrs. Lengyel is mentioned in the same place as prizewinner "for the best baked bread."

Felsö-Méra (Abauj-Torna). József Lengyel (NW 3, 19, 1). Village in district Szikszo. 1851: Close to the river Hernad. 1003 Hungarians. Landed estates: Vitéz and Fáy *FE* III 81). 1882: 135 houses, 778 Hungarians. 1829 Kh. Nearest post office Encs (*Hr* 1882, 543). 1897: landed estates: Ignac Berkovits (lessee, proprietor: Adolf Zigmann) 298 Kh, Lajos Matisz 136 Kh (Gr 1897, 268). 1898: 135 houses, 715 Hungarians. 1829 Kh. Nearest telegraph: Forro-Encs (*Hr* 1898, 192). 1913: 143 houses. 862 Hungarians, 1829 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 566).

(Page 30) **Szmerekovszky, Jozsef. - NE 4, 19, 1. - 1855-1937**

Coming from Janok, Hungary (see below) he and his wife spent three years in the USA before coming to Canada. First they took possession of NE 2, 19, 2 on June 1, 1886(HF DI 307768, sworn statement July 2, 1901). The correctness of this date is unlikely (cf. Esterhazy's report of December 31, 1886, *SP*, No. 12, 1887, pp. 237-238 according to which the colony came into existence on June 19, 1886). For some reason he obtained entry to NE 4, 19, 1 and abandoned the previous quarter-section in June 1887 thereby causing considerable trouble for himself and the administration (HF DI 307768, sworn statement, May 31, 1902). There have been claims that, amongst others, Szmerekovszky was Slovak (J. Gellner and J. Smerek, *The Czechs and Slovaks in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968, p. 64). Tape-recorded interview with Istvan (Steve) 86 years of age and Annie 73, Jozsef's children, at Fort Qu'Appelle on October 8, 1972 rendered it beyond doubt that the Szmerekovszkys have been Hungarian speaking Magyars in spite of their name, which fact they themselves clearly corroborated. — J. Szmerekovszky was one of the few settlers who were entitled to a second homestead (HF DI 307768: Secretary, DI to W. Cosgrave, October 8,

1901); that is how he could be issued with patent for NE 4, 19, 1, dated September 3, 1902 *(l.c.)*.

In any case he resided on this land as early as 1888 and cropped 12 acres of the 25 already broken with wheat, oats and barley, but all his crop was destroyed by prairie fire. He lived together with his family (wife and two children) at that stage in a log house 10′ x 12′. His farming equipment consisted of a wagon and a plough as well as a yoke of oxen, 1 cow, 1 calf, the latter kept in a log stable 12′ x 15′ (RS, p. 5).

According to the above sworn statement of May 31, 1902 Szmerekovszky's land already broken amounted indeed, to 60 acres, indicating the approximate limit of cultivation for the average farmer at that time. By then his family consisted of six children, one boy and five girls, with one more girl to come, as explained by Steve the eldest of them. Mr. Istvan Szmerekovszky, now of course, getting on in years, as mentioned above, was born in the first year of the settlement in a manger, as the family had to live for a while in the stable. He was the second child to be born in the Colony. By 1902 Steven was old and clever enough to act as a mounted guide for P. O. Esterhazy. Today he is young enough to act for this study as one of the chief informants.

Jánok (Abauj-Torna County). Jozsef Szmerekovszky (NE 4, 19, 1). Village in the district Torna. 1882: 109 houses. 540 Hungarians. 4124 Kh. Nearest post office: Szepsi (*Hr* 1882, 358). 1898: 96 houses. 665 Hungarians. 4123 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 292). 1913: 129 houses. 734 Hungarians. 4125 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 696).

(Page 31) **Home of J. Szmerekovszky, NE 4, 19, 1**

The house is described in the same year (sworn statement, May 31, 1902, HF DI 307768) as a log construction with shingle roof 16′ by 20′. The building on the right is the 16′ by 40′ log stable. The house is valued in the same document at $400 and the stables at only one-tenth of that amount. The members of the family are in their Sunday-best. There is no difficulty in identifying the parents on the right. Steve, our present-day informant, stands on the left. Next to him his eldest sister is holding baby Annie on her arm, who also has assisted this study with her reminiscences.

(Page 32) **Home of Lajos Gönczy, NW 10, 19, 1**

Every member of Lajos Gönczy's family is in the picture. The eldest boy, Peter, the first child to be born in the Colony, is seated on the seat of the then novel 'sitting' plough to the right of the centre of the photograph. To make the ploughing scene more realistic, a team of three horses is harnessed to the plough. Lajos, Jr. is disciplining a bull by the ring-rope almost at the centre. Mrs. Gönczy (nee Julia Fodor) is

holding by the hand her youngest child, Imre, born two years before. Another small son, Janos, stands immediately left of his father and then the four daughters (from left to right) Ilona, Irma, Emelyn and Julia. The house appears a larger, roomier and newer building than the one described by Gönczy in 1898 (HF DI 250955) as 20′ by 16′, and built ten years before.

(Page 33) **Gönczy, Lajos, NW 10, 19, 1**

Apparently, Lajos Gönczy no longer resided in 1902 on his own homestead, SE 9, 19, 1, nor did he own it at that stage. The name 'F. Page' is inscribed on this quarter-section on the sectional map at the end of the pamphlet. In fact, NW 10, 19, 1 had been the homestead of Peter Gönczy, Lajos's father, before 1893, in which year the latter began residence on it (HF DI 250955). None the less, the land is still in the name of 'P. Gönczy' on the sectional map. Hailing from Göncz-Ruszka (Hungary), Lajos Gönczy (1861-1942) and wife, nee Julia Fodor (1861-1944), had spent four years in the United States before joining Esterhazy's first group of Hungarian settlers in the spring of 1886. They were one of the eleven families of the 1886 arrivals who stayed on in the Colony and managed to become prosperous.

Lajos Gönczy, the godfather of young Istvan Szmerekovszky, functioned, together with the latter, as local companion and guide to P. O. Esterhazy's party in the summer of 1902 (interview with Istvan Szmerekovszky, 86, Fort Qu'Appelle, October 8, 1972). He was destined to become one of the geographically most mobile Hungarian settlers of western Canada (cf. *KMU*, February 24, 1942). Consequently, his descendants are scattered over Canada and the United States. As a matter of interest, *one* of the eight children of Lajos Gönczy married a French-Canadian, *three* English-Canadian spouses, *one* an English-American, *one* a German-American and *two* Hungarian-Canadians. Of the twenty-nine grandchildren of Lajos Gönczy, twenty live in Canada (but none in the Kaposvar-Esterhazy area) and the rest in the United States (letter dated December 10, 1973 from Louis Gönczy, Sr., Lethbridge, Alberta). There were several Gönczys in the early years of the Colony. Sándor Gönczy (see ann. to p. 34) was only a distant relation of the rest. Péter (1833-1903) had — in addition to Lajos — two other sons, Pál and István. Pál, the eldest, had his farm far from the Colony, and his only daughter was Mrs. János Lippay. István (1864-1938), the youngest son of Péter, settled in the Colony (see ann. to p. 48).

Göncz-Ruszka (Abauj-Torna County)

Lajos Gönczy (NW 10, 19, 1), Sándor Gönczy (NE 1, 19, 2), István Gönczy (SE 16, 19, 1), István Lovász (NE 10, 19, 1). Village in district Göncz. Close to the river Hernád. 1851: 1587 Hungarians. Several land-

lords (*FE* III 305). 1882: 233 houses. 1180 Hungarians. 2642 Kh. Nearest post office: Göncz (*Hr* 1882, 277). 1897: Landlords: Ignác Grosz (alcohol manufacturer) 698 Kh, Ödön Krajnik 174 Kh, Emanuel Lichtmann 143 Kh, Miklós Mokcsay lessee (proprietor: Etelka Patay) 241 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 266-7). 1898: 234 houses. 1170 Hungarians. 2642 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 228). 1913: 257 houses. 1254 Hungarians. Railway station (*Hr* 1913, 616).

(Page 34) Gönczy, Sándor (Alexander), NE 1, 19, 2

In addition to the above quarter-section, also NW 1, 19, 2 and NW 6, 19, 1 are in his name on the sectional map. This helps to explain Gönczy's claim that he is "the owner of 640 acres of fine land". The missing 160 acres can be identified as NW 28, 19, 2, onto which he effected entry in March, 1902 (sworn statement, May 15, 1905, HF DI 47031). Sándor Gönczy (1855-1928) was only a distant relative of the other Gönczys. Yet it was Péter and his son, Lajos, who had assisted him in paying his family's fares from the United States to Esterhaz Colony (see his own reference to borrowing). He had six daughters and a son, Ferenc, who married an English girl (interview with W. B. Gönczy, Esterhazy, January 3, 1973). He was one of the first settlers, and secured entry to his original homestead on June 16, 1886 (HF DI 250953). Like the other Gönczys, Sándor had also originated from Göncz-Ruszka (Abauj-Torna County), concerning which locality see ann. to p. 33.

(Page 35) Home of Sándor Gönczy, NE 1, 19, 1

Sándor Gönczy and his family are lined up alongside the typical 'company' house. Only three girls and the only son can be seen to the right of the seated couple. The man in the foreground, viewing the four draught horses and the foal, looks like István Gönczy. The person behind the barrel is probably a member of Esterhazy's party. The measurements of the house are 20′ by 16′. The 15 head of cattle can be accommodated in winter time in the log stables (with sod roof) of 36′ by 15′ (HF DI 423994, December 23, 1896).

(Page 36) Home of George Hanics, SE 12, 19A, 1

The caption of the Hungarian version speaks of "E 12, 19A, 1", which constitutes a better description, as the section is *fractional*. It is actually a half-section, having an eastern and a western quarter.

In addition to the parents, only four of the Hanics' five children are shown in the picture (cf. statement by G. Hanics of October 26, 1901, HF DI 662604). Their 'company-style' house seems well-kept. Close to the centre in the back can be seen the 'carriage' that "the ordinary village landlord was never able to keep" (see Hanics's statement on p. 37 of the pamphlet). The photograph also includes members of Esterhazy's party; the guides, Lajos Gönczy (to the left) and young István Szmerekovszky,

are mounted close to the house. On the very right edge of the picture two men (probably Esterhazy and Forslund) are seated in a carriage, and a third is standing on the ground next to them.

(Page 37) **Hanics, Gyorgy (—George), SE 12, 19A, 1**

George Hanics (1862-1928) was a Slovak of Siba (Saros County), who also spoke fluent Hungarian (interview with János Barilla, 88, Esterhazy, August 31, 1972). He was one of the first settlers in the Colony. It appears he had come to Canada in the group of 95 families which left Hazelton, Pennsylvania under the aegis of P. O. Esterhazy, but led by Tivadar Zboray, on August 26, 1885. Having spent the winter probably in the employment of the CPR at Whitewood or Regina (see P. O. Esterhazy's "List of Hungarians Taken to North West", reported to the DA on September 29, 1885, No. 49591 DA, General Correspondence), Hanics joined P. O. Esterhazy's newer immigrant groups in June, 1886, in accordance with the understanding reached the previous fall (cf. Zboray's Report, *SP*, Vol. 7, 1886, pp. 119-120).

Hanics had originally settled on SE 19, 18, 1 in July, 1886, but abandoned his house and the land a year later and began to squat on SE 12, 19A, 1 (Homestead Inspector's Report No. 1617, August 28, 1890, HF DI 307736). He applied also for this quarter-section as a homestead. Although he had no right to do so, his application was granted (L. A. Hamilton, Land Commissioner CPR, Winnipeg, April 6, 1896, No. 350079, HF DI 307736). Of course, Hanics met with much trouble as a result, but finally obtained patent to it on February 1, 1904 (HF DI 662 604).

His reference to "295 acres of excellent land" is somewhat obscure. Probably it should rather read "280 acres". E 12, 19A, 1 is listed in 1905 as consisting of 120 acres, and he is referred to on the same occasion as the owner of both SW 1, 19A, 1 and SE 19, 19, 1, to one of which he could have already had entry in 1902 (cf. AR, 1905).

Siba (Sáros County). Gyorgy Hanics (SE 12, 19A, 1). Village in district Szekcsö. 1851: 449 Slovaks. Landed estate: Count Klobusiczky (*FE* III 26). 1882: 61 houses. 397 Slovaks. 2405 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 742). 1897: Landed estate: Julianna Ficker and son. 1703 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 298). 1898: 84 houses. 429 Slovaks. 2406 Kh. Nearest post office: Bartfa (*Hr* 1898, 631). 1913 (change of name to Szekcsöalja): 86 houses. 439 Slovaks. 2406 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 1161).

(Page 38) **Pilcsák, István, Sr., NE 3, 19, 1**

István Pilcsák, Sr. (1855-1933) had come from Ormezö, later renamed Mezöladány, Hungary in 1888, in regard to which see ann. to p. 41. The family settled on NE 3, 19, 1 in the same year. By 1891, he had 43 acres under crop (sworn statement, February 4, 1895, HF DI 379

591). It appears that he assisted his elder brother, János (see ann. to p. 5), in emigrating to the Colony in 1890, who then acquired SE 2, 19A, 1 as his homestead (HF DI 454 240). István's family included his wife, four sons and four daughters. He became a respected member of the community, and is mentioned in 1908 as commissioner for taking oaths at Esterhazy (*Kanadai Magyarság*, 'Canadian Hungarians', July 3, 1908). A year later, a school district was named after him in the neighbouring Hungarian settlement, Stockholm (Pilchak School District No. 2359, SPAR), with Miklós, a son of his (SE 30, 20, 2), as one of the trustees (Poll sheet, April 17, 1909 PK 2359-13, SPAR). The Pilcsáks, in spite of their Slavonic names, felt and referred to themselves as Magyars (interviews with Mrs. Gyula Plosz, 70, nee Ilonka Kiss, whose mother was Maria Pilcsak, a daughter of Istvan, Sr., Stockholm, Sask., on June 8, 1973; and Mrs.Béla Pilcsák, nee Erzsébet Horhauser, 72, the wife of István, Sr.'s youngest son, Kipling, May 25, 1973).

(Page 39) **Home of Stephen (István) Pilcsák, Sr., NE 3, 19, 1**

Mr. and Mrs. István Pilcsák (nee Mária Dudics) are shown in the company of four of their daughters and three of their sons. However, the importance of the photograph lies in the fact that two houses of different styles are presented in it, indicating, as it were, two contrasting levels of objective cultural adjustment. The old log house, built in 1888, 30′ by 20′ and probably somewhat extended later (sworn statement, February 4, 1895, HF DI 379 591), very much resembles a type of peasant house fashionable in the villages of Hungary in the 1880's. Its structure, thatched roof, the fence with twigs interwoven and many other characteristics attest István Pilcsák, Sr.'s skill in carpentry, and reflect the traits and patterns of his traditional culture. On the other hand, his new house, in the course of being erected, at the back of the picture, looks ambitious and very roomy, as well as Canadian. Furthermore, being a log structure, it is economical. The roof, in particular, bears testimony to Pilcsak's efficiency.

(Page 40) **Home of J. Babijak, SE 3, 19A, 1**

The quarter-section had not been purchased by Babijak until May 25, 1900. He began residence on it in June, 1901 (statutory declaration, December 15, 1905, HF DI 557 140), by which time (as he states in the text) the house had been built *by himself*. According to the Hungarian version, he had it erected. Not all of the members of the family appear in the photograph, nor are there shown any other tangible signs of success, such as cattle, horses or farm machinery.

(Page 41) **Babiják, János, SE 3, 19A, 1**

The description of the homestead as "160 acres and 160 acres"

appears rather cryptic. Nor does the sectional map at the end of the pamphlet provide any help, as Babiják's name is connected only with the above quarter-section. However, the AR, 1905, which includes Township 18 as well, reveals Babiják as owner also of NE 34, 18, 1. János Babiják (1853-1936) and his wife, Julia Lakatos, came from the same village in Hungary as some half-dozen other families settling in the Colony (see note on Örmezö below). The Babijáks did not have the privilege of any formal education. Neither of them could read or write. But they were determined to succeed. Their family, a Magyar one in spite of the name, consisted of six sons and two daughters, of whom none were to leave Canada (interview with József Babyak, 77, Esterhazy, January 3, 1973; cf. also statutory declaration, December 15, 1905, HF DI 557 140).

Örmezö (Szabolcs County). János Babiják (SE 3, 19A, 1). István Gyuricska (NE 5, 19A, 1), Lajos Gyuricska (NW 4, 19A, 1), György Nagy (SW 2, 19, 1), István Pilcsák, Sr. (NE 3, 19, 1), Mihály Szikora (NW 34, 18, 1), István Veres (NE 7, 19, 1). Village in district Tisza. 1882: 126 houses. 587 Hungarians. 979 Kh. Nearest post office: Mándok (*Hr* 1882, 618). 1898: 131 houses. 597 Hungarians. 979 Kh. Nearest post office: Tornyos-Pálcza (*Hr* 1898, 537). 1900 (merger with Örladány: Örmezö + Ör-Ladány =) Mezöladány: 217 houses. 1047 Hungarians. 2615 Kh. Nearest post office; Tornyos-Pálcza (*Hr* 1900, ed. J. Jekelfalussy, 512). 1913 (Mezöladány): 195 houses. 991 Hungarians. 2390 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 913).

(Page 42) **Marjo, György. SW 12, 19, 2**

The quarter-section is mistakenly described in the pamphlet as being "SE". That piece of land (SE 12, 19, 2) belonged to István Katrenszky (see p. 53 of the pamphlet and the ann. to it, as well as the sectional map). Marjo states in the text that he possesses 480 acres, that is, three quarter-sections. The sectional map shows Marjo as the person in whose name SE 3, 19, 2 is listed. This quarter-section had been abandoned by József Ocskay, a first-settler who left the Colony after the first winter in 1887. Marjo bought it from the CPR for three dollars per acre. However, his residence had been on SW 12, 19, 2 from 1889 to the date of his death, October 28, 1922 (application for 'quit claim' by George Marjo, Jr., administrator of the estate of George Marjo, Sr., December 5, 1923, HF DI 308 503). Marjo is listed in 1905 (AR) as the possessor of NE 3, 19, 2 as well. He is likely to have initiated its purchase in 1902.

György Marjo (1859-1922), a native of Hernád Szöled, Hungary (notes on which see below), arrived in the Colony in 1889 after a stay of five years in the United States. Like many other Hungarians working in the coal-mines of Pennsylvania, Marjo had become frustrated, owing to the violence and uncertainty connected with the continual labour trouble

there. He and his wife (nee Erzsébet Matolcsay) had five sons and four daughters. One of the sons, Istvan, recalls having seen Paul O. Esterhazy and having listened to his great address to the Colonists in July, 1902 (interview with Istvan Mario, 84, Regina, January 4, 1973).

Hernad Szöled (Abauj-Torna County)

György Marjo (Se 12, 19, 2). Village in district Szikszo. 1851: 497 Ruthenians, Hungarians and Slovaks (*FE* III 154). 1898: 77 houses. 387 Hungarians and Slovaks. 716 Kh. Nearest post office: Hernádvécse. Nearest telegraph: Garadna (*Hr* 1898, 258). 1913: Merged with Hernádvécse. *Hernádvécse:* 1882: 118 houses. 680 Hungarians and Slovaks. 2209 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 314). 1898: 112 houses. 675 Hungarians. 2209 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 258). 1913 (now including Hernád Szöled as well): 227 houses. 1117 Hungarians. 2209 Kh — should read 2925 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 658). 1897: Landlords (in both villages): Ferenc Doner, 997 Kh. János Sardagna, baronet, 157 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 268).

(Page 43) **Home of George Marjo. SW 12, 19, 2**

As has been explained above (see ann. to p. 42), the proper description of Marjo's quarter-section is SW 12, 19, 2 (and *not* "SE"). The purpose of the photograph — the visual presentation of a luxuriant growth of potatoes — is well achieved (see Marjo's reference to a crop of some 100 sacks of potatoes in 1901 on p. 42 of the pamphlet). The Marjo home, at the centre of the picture, is a 'company' house, pointing to the fact that the newly-arrived immigrant in 1889 could still find a house and quarter-section abandoned by one of the first settlers in 1887.

(Page 44) **Home of Jozsef Magashegyi, NE 6, 18, 2**

It is probable that the caption under the photograph erroneously states the "Home of Marcil and J. Magoshegyi," as Magashegyi had built a house on NE 6, 18, 2 as early as June, 1898. It was a frame, shingle-roof house 16′ by 30′. He also had there three stables 18′ by 30′each and a granary 18′ by 30′ as well as a shed 12′ by 12′. (HF DI 420599). The structures in the picture seem to correspond to the description. The elevation in the background is the northern slope of the beautiful Qu'Appelle Valley beyond which, further to the north, lies the Esterhaz-Kaposvar area.

(Page 45) **Magashegyi, József NE 6, 18, 2**

The number '28' for the determination of the Range in the location of the quarter-section is out of place. Indeed in the Hungarian version of the pamphlet it reads '2' as it should be. NE 6, 18, 2 is the quarter-section which Magashegyi refers to as his property on which he began residence in May 1898 after his arrival from the USA (sworn statement, June 25,

1903). It is relevant to mention the rate at which Magashegyi's assets were increasing. Since NE 6, 18, 2 had been acquired by purchase he obtained entry in March 1898 and patent in October 1903 for NE 30, 17, 2. In June of the same year he had 41 head of cattle and 10 horses as against 30 and 5 respectively a year before (see his statement in the pamphlet). He had a comparatively small family of two children (sworn statement June 25, 1903, HF DI 420599). His partner, the Frenchman mentioned in the pamphlet, was Marcil (Santha, *Three Generations*, p. 25). In 1905 the western half of 10, 18, 2 was listed on the name of Joseph Marceille (AR, SPAR). Later on Magashegyi participated in successful business ventures and in 1928 sold all his property and moved to the USA (Sántha, *loc. cit.*). Magashegyi's place of origin was Teés, Hungary as seen below.

Teés (Veszprém County). József Magashegyi (NE 6, 18, 28). Village in district Zircz. 1851: 1333 Hungarians and Germans. Landed estate: the bishop of Fejérvaŕ (*FE* III 201). 1882: 214 houses, 1497 Hungarians. 6562 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 877). 1897: Landed estate: the bishop of Székesfejérvár 4750 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 136-7). 1898: 209 houses. 1450 Hungarians. 6562 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 717). 1913: 263 houses, 1377 Hungarians, 6562 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 1226).

(Page 46) **Bartók, István. SE 2, 19, 1**

István Bartók (1849-1921), born at Torna Ujfalu, Hungary (notes on which see below), had spent two years in the United States before joining P. O. Esterhazy's groups of immigrants in the spring of 1886. He settled, together with his (and his late wife's Erzsébet Szilágyi's) two sons and one daughter, on SE 2, 19, 1 (interview with Mrs. J. Babyak, nee Margit Bartók, 74, daughter of Bertalan Bartók, at Esterhazy, January 3, 1973), and had, as did the other first settlers, a frame house built from the CPR loan late in 1886, which circumstance, combined with adverse economic conditions, resulted in numerous difficulties for Bartók (HF DI 522 410). That he was a strong and determined man is indicated by the amount of land he (and his family) broke up for cultivation in the first three years — twelve acres in 1886, fifteen in 1887 and thirty in 1888, totalling 57 acres (sworn statement, March 12, 1902, HF DI 522 410).

Bartók makes reference to his sons, Bertalan and Gyula, as self-supporting farmers who have had excellent crops. Bertalan (=Albert, 'Berti') Bartók's (1871-1947) name appears on NE 2, 19A, 1 on the sectional map, but there is no mention of that of Gyula, Bertalan had obtained entry to NE 2, 19A, 1 in 1892 and built a house there in the same year, and a patent was issued on December 30, 1898 (HF DI 457 179). In 1905 SE 2, 19, 1 was also listed under Bertalan's name (AR).

Torna Ujfalu (Abauj-Torna County)

István Bartók (SE 2, 19, 1), István Katrenszky (SE 12, 19, 2). Village in district Torna. 1882: Ujfalu: 71 houses. 529 Hungarians. 1746 Kh. Nearest post office: Torna (*Hr* 1898, 727). 1898: Torna-Ujfalu: 77 houses. 527 Hungarians. 1747 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 727). 1913: 99 houses. 470 Hungarians. 1747 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 1240).

(Page 46) **Brunyánszky, János. SW 14, 19, 1**

The surname is misspelt in the pamphlet ('n' is missing before the 'y'), but in the signature and in the Hungarian version it is properly written. J. Brunyánszky (1851-1942) had been a very early immigrant to the United States. He seems to have been remarkably unsuccessful there, not having been able to save more than a few dollars during a stay of six years, even though he had a very strong physique (he died at the age of 91, while still carrying on farming — he was kicked to death by a horse). Brunyánszky and his wife, Mária Kristóff, sister to Péter and András Kristóff, induced the two Kristóff families to come to the Colony. Brunyánszky had emigrated to the mines of Pennsylvania from Felsö Novaj, Hungary (see notes on it below), a very poor village where the only land he possessed was a garden (interview with Mrs. Mihály Musztik, nee Mária Brunyánszky, the daughter of J. B., 86, Esterhazy, June 20, 1973). Brunyánszky at first resided on SW 10, 19, 1, which he had acquired by purchase. In 1895, he obtained entry to SW 14, 19, 1, a quarter-section abandoned in 1887 by Joseph Gombosh, a first-settler (sworn statement, April 25, 1900, HF DI 574 157). Only three of Brunyánszky's four sons lived to establish their respective families — Ferenc, the eldest, fell victim to a mine accident in British Columbia (interview with Mrs. M. Musztik, as above).

Felsö Novaj (Abauj-Torna County)

János Brunyánszky (SW 14, 19, 1). Village in district Szikszo. 1882: 51 houses. 300 Hungarians. 810 Kh. Nearest post office: Garadna (*Hr* 1882, 590). 1898: 48 houses. 300 Hungarians. 811 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 192). 1913: 59 houses. 303 Hungarians. 810 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 567).

(Page 48) **Dory, Lörincz. NE 14, 19, 1**

Lörincz Dory (1857 — about 1935) and his brother Mihály (1855-1932) were Hungarian Germans who had come to the Colony under the auspices of P. O. Esterhazy. He had also arranged for their families' travel from Varalja, Hungary (on which notes see below) to Kaposvar (cf. P. O. Esterhazy's correspondence with the Departments of Agriculture and of the Interior between February 9, 1892 and February 23, 1893, RG 76, Vol. 20, F: 183). Lörincz managed to obtain entry to NE 14, 19, 1, next to his brother's quarter-section, NW 14, 19, 1, in May, 1892.

His land does not appear to be of high quality; in 1902, the land broken up that far on his quarter-section did not exceed fifty acres (claim is made for "sixty" acres in the text, but Dory had stated "fifty" in a sworn statement on March 11, 1902, HF DI 689 628). That the rest of the land was better suited for grazing is revealed by the presence on his farm of 23 milking cows. That he was not doing too well on his land is indicated by the fact that after 10 years of farming in the Colony, he did not own horses and was living with his wife and five children in a sod-roofed 15′ by 24′ log house (sworn statement, March 11, 1902, HF DI 689 628). Perhaps this is why he is found, with his family, at Saxon Hill, Saskatchewan thirty years later (Minutes, R. C. Parish, Saxon Hill, Sask., January 24, 1932, SAP, p. 9).

Váralja (Bereg County)

Lörincz Dory (NE 14, 19, 1). Only mentioned: Mihály Dory (NW 14, 19, 1). Village in district Munkács. 1882: 71 houses. 509 Hungarians and Ruthenians. 565 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 935). 1898: 80 houses. 699 Ruthenians, Slovaks and Hungarians. 396 Kh. Nearest post office: Vár Palánka. Nearest telegraph: Munkács (*Hr* 1898, 763). 1913 (change of name) Munkácsváralja: 165 houses. 979 Ruthenians, Germans and Hungarians. 395 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 933).

(Page 48) **Gönczy, István. SE 16, 19, 1**

In fact, the whole southern half of 16, 19, 1 is shown as his property on the sectional map.

István Gönczy (1864-1938), the youngest son of Péter and the younger brother of Lajos (see ann to p. 33), had worked for more than five years in the coal-mines of Pennsylvania (the Hungarian version of the pamphlet erroneously states 1893 as the date of his departure for the United States), before arriving at Esterhaz in 1889. From his marriage to Mária, István Bartók's (see ann. to p. 46) daughter, two sons and nine daughters were born. The family of one of the sons, W. B. Gönczy, alone maintains the name 'Gönczy' in the Esterhazy area (interview with W. B. 'Bill' Gönczy at Esterhazy on January 3, 1973). On the other hand, of his eight daughters who married, five live in the Esterhazy area — three with Czech-Canadian husbands (interview with Mrs. J. Brunyánszky, nee Elizabeth Gönczy, one of István's daughters, 80, Esterhazy, June 19, 1973).

István Gönczy's quarter-section, SE 16, 19, 1, is identical to the one for which the widow of István Gyuricska, Sr., Mrs. Angyal Mária Gyuricska, had been carrying on a long, but finally successful, legal battle, obtaining a patent for it in August, 1897 (HF DI 285 678 and 555 967). István Gönczy, just like his brother, Lajos, had come from Gönc-

Ruszka (Abauj-Torna County), concerning which see ann. to p. 33.

(Page 49) **Whitewood, Assiniboia, Station, Canadian Pacific Railway**

As the captions suggest, the Whitewood CPR station is shown in the photograph. A very clear view is also provided of P. O. Esterhazy (in bowler hat) and J. E. Forslund (next to Esterhazy). This picture and that on page 50 were taken in the morning of July 10, 1902.

Whitewood was a quickly developing incorporated town between Winnipeg and Regina, 249 miles west of the former and 106 miles east of the latter. The number of its population was given in 1900 as being '300', four years later as being '400'. During the same period of time, its elevator capacity had grown from 60,000 to 118,000 bushels, (cf. *Henderson's Manitoba and N.W.T. Gazeteer and Directory*, Vol. 22, 1900, pp. 193-194 and Vol. 23, 1904, pp. 474-475). P. O. Esterhazy spent, during his trip, a considerable part of his time at Whitewood, for which the inducement was the presence in the town of a main post office, telegraph, shops and other comforts (cf., for instance, his letters to his wife dated July 13 and 21, 1902, POEP LS).

(Page 50) **Alhambra Hotel at Whitewood Station**

One of the major attractions of Whitewood for P. O. Esterhazy consisted in the services of the new Alhambra Hotel. Even if the meals provided there did not appeal to him (July 22, 1902, POEP LS), he no doubt enjoyed the luxury of a warm bath in a portable tub carried and filled by the bell boy, of course for an extra charge (interview with Vern Apperley 81, Regina, April 22, 1974; Mr. Apperley's father, a plasterer and mason, helped build the hotel).

(Page 51) **Gyuricska, István ('Steven'). NE 5, 19A, 1**

István Gyuricska was the elder of the sons of the widowed Mrs. Angyal Mária Gyuricska (1842-?), who had been enterprising enough to undertake, with her sons, in 1889, the trials and tribulations of emigration from their native Örmezö (see ann. to p. 41). In fact, Mrs. Gyuricska, endeavouring to secure SE 16, 19, 1 as her homestead, built a house on it in March, 1889 and gained entry, owing to the misappropriation by J. Vass of her homestead fee, as late as January 28, 1892 (Declaration, January 19, 1892, HF DI 555 967). She was found a *bona fide* settler by R. S. Park, homestead inspector (August 29, 1895, HF DI 555967). It appears that, soon after the issue of the patent for the quarter-section, she sold it to István Gönczy for $500 — and then she returned to Hungary (interview with István Szmerekovszky, Fort Qu'Appelle, April 5, 1973). In Hungary she was instrumental in contributing, through her reminiscences of the Colony, to a veritable exodus of emigrants to Canada from

Tornyos Pálcza, Szabolcs County, situated in the vicinity of Örmező, in 1903 (*KMU*, July 7, 1928). No doubt her lively stories were deepening the impact of the Esterhazy pamphlet, many copies of which were reaching Hungary by then (cf. Santha, *Three Generations*, p. 14).

István Gyuricska, on whose grave stone in the Kaposvar cemetery "1867-1945" are inscribed as life years, could not have been "nineteen years old" in 1889. In any case, he obtained entry for NW 4, 19A, 1 in July, 1889, built a house there in May, 1890, and a patent was issued on April 23, 1896 (HF DI 250 881). Yet, he is referred to above as residing on his "homestead" NE 5, 19A, 1, a quarter-section contiguous from the west with NW 4, 19A, 1. His residing on it, of course, is possible, as he is marked on the sectional map as the owner of both, but only NW 4, 19A, 1 would qualify as his "homestead".

With regard to his native Örmező, see ann. to p. 41.

(Page 51) **Gyuricska, Lajos ('Louis'). NE 4, 19A, 1**

The designation "NW ¾" in the heading of the statement is inaccurate since NW 4, 19A, 1 constituted his brother, István's, homestead. Both his homestead records and the sectional map witness the same fact. On the other hand, the western *half* of the fractional 9, 19A, 1 as well (which, however, equals less than a normal quarter-section) appears in his name on the sectional map. The desire to show the two pieces of land combined may have resulted in the hybrid and meaningless "NW ¾" description.

Lajos Gyuricska (1871-1963) gained entry to NE 4, 19A, 1 as early as July, 1889. Four years later, still unmarried, he resided with his widowed mother Mrs. Angyal Mária Gyuricska (see ann. to the upper part of p. 51) in his house of 15′ by 12′ dimensions, built in April, 1889 (sworn statement, January 10, 1893, HF DI 395 754). The fact that the Gyuricska family had arrived in 1889 with $300 cash over and above their fares proved, no doubt, of considerable assistance in their economic progress, and is indicative of their relatively high socio-economic status in the Örmező peasant community (see ann. to p. 41). Before marrying Rose Bernat (the sister of István Gyuricska's wife) in 1895, Lajos, one of the leading bachelors of the time, often participated in the organization of dances and balls (interview with Mrs. Julia Barilla, a daughter of István Gyuricska, 76, at Esterhazy, July 9, 1973; also, see *Amerikai Nemzetör*, 'American National Guard', January 24, 1894).

(Page 52) **Janoczkó, János ('John'). NE 2, 19, 1**

One of the first settlers arriving in June, 1886, János Janoszkó (1859-1943) commenced residence on NE 2, 19, 1 at once. In February, 1889, he already lived in a 'company' house with his family, and owned a log stable 15′ by 20′ and a log granary 12′ by 20′, as well as 2 yoke of oxen, 1 cow, 2 calves, 1 wagon, 1 plough and harrows. His ten acres

cropped yielded 200 bushels of wheat (RS, p. 6). Of course, Janoczkó's economic position in 1902 was far better, as can be seen from his statement in the pamphlet; the data listed there are to a great extent borne out by his sworn statement of March 12, 1902, which also mentions his wife and four children (HF DI 651 182). Janoczkó happened to be one of the few settlers of Esterhaz who had already known Esterhazy and his activities in New York. According to him, Esterhazy held several meetings there for Hungarians, and also for English-speakers. "He tended to assist and look after the poor . . . his bearing and manners were definitely aristocratic." Janoczkó also well remembered Esterhazy's last emotional address to the settlers of the Colony on Sunday, July 20, 1902 (cf. *KMU*, April 23, 1927). He was the last to pass away of the 'pioneers' appearing in the photograph on p. 5 of the pamphlet (cf. *The Observer*, Esterhazy, February 17, 1943). It is interesting to note that five of the ten children of the Janoczkós had died while still in childhood *(loc. cit.)*. Janoczkó had emigrated to the United States from Puszta-Radvány in 1883.

Puszta-Radvány (Abauj-Torna County). János Janoczkó (NE 2, 19, 1).

Village in district Szikszó and later (1898) Cserehát. 1882: 30 houses. 162 Hungarians. 1243 Kh. Nearest post office: Garadna (*Hr* 1882, 689). 1898: 28 houses. 168 Hungarians. 1240 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 584). 1913: 38 houses. 256 Hungarians. 1239 Kh. Nearest post office: Szemere (*Hr* 1069).

(Page 53) **Katrenszky, István. SE 12, 19, 2**

István Katrenszky (1868-1955) had emigrated to the United States from Torna-Ujfalu, Abauj-Torna County (see ann. to p. 46) on his own as a boy of 14. Ten years later, bringing his wife (nee Zsuzsanna Lévai) and considerable savings ($600), he quickly established himself in the Colony. In April, 1893 the quarter-section was already occupied by the Katrenszky family. Yet the young man apparently did not want to commit himself for the time being, and an agreement to purchase the homestead was not made until June, 1896. But for some reason, the *written* agreement was drawn up as late as January 1, 1902, when he paid $303 as the purchase price for SE 12, 19, 2. The patent was issued on July 14, 1904 (HF DI 879 145). Katrenszky refers in his statement to 320 acres, that is, to two quarter-sections in his possession. However, his name appears on the sectional map only in connection with SE 12, 19, 2. It is possible that there existed already, in 1902, some arrangement between Katrenszky and Andrew Kopas, concerning either the NW or the SE 2, 19, 2, which had become Katrenszky's property by the 1910's (cf. L. F. Coumans, Dominion and Saskatchewan Land Surveyor, Regina, Sask., Sectional Maps, No. 24, n.d., about 1917). The Katrenszkys had nine sons and five daughters, although not all of them reached adulthood. Notwithstanding their name, the Katrenszkys were Magyars (interview with Mrs. János

Tóth, nee Rózsi Katrenszky, 76, a daughter of I. Katrenszky, at Esterhazy, June 20, 1973).

(Page 53) **Kruppa, József. NE 33, 18, 1**

József Kruppa (1870-1948) was born in Örmező, but before his departure for Canada lived at Tornyos-Pálcza, Szabolcs County (see notes below), not far from his birthplace. The reference to N½ 33, 18, 1 in the heading in the pamphlet is partly inaccurate. There is no evidence that NW 33, 18, 1 should also have been owned by Kruppa. In fact, this quarter-section was still listed in the name of the CPR in the late 1910's (Coumans, *op.cit.*, no. 24); nor does Kruppa claim the possession of more than 320 acres (see his statement in the pamphlet). As to the heading in the Hungarian version, "N½ 8, 19A, 1" is entirely erroneous. Of course, it should read as the designation in the English one. Kruppa's other quarter-section, NE 32, 18, 1, constituted his original homestead, to which he had obtained entry on November 14, 1893. His house, 15' by 14', built in May, 1894, to which a kitchen 14' by 9' was no doubt added later, could not have been of very high quality, as its value at the beginning of the new century did not exceed $80 (statement, January 19, 1900). The patent for NE 32, 18, 1 was dated September 25, 1900 (HF DI 546 804). The erection of the house in May, 1894 must have taken place in a great hurry, as he only married in January, 1894. The wedding must have attracted widespread attention. A short notice of it appeared even in the New York *Amerikai Nemzetör* (January 24, 1894), stating that Kruppa had married Bernadette Arcand, a French lady. Indeed, she was the well-educated daughter of one of the teachers in the Colony, and the fact that a less-educated man could marry a 'lady' seemed to the one-time poor peasants a novel achievement. However, Kruppa possessed natural intelligence and some experience with machines, and thus managed to establish himself as the local mechanic. It is noteworthy that the threshing machine that he had purchased in the previous year nearly earned its original purchase price in one good season, and that 28 labourers were required for its operation. By 1909, two threshing machines were operating for him (*Kanadai Magyarság*, September 23, 1909), and at the same time he could claim as his

> The largest Hungarian store where there are available all types of inexpensive agricultural implements, ploughs, wagons, mowers, reapers, windmills, threshers, motors and iron tools. They also operate as blacksmiths, engine fitters and locksmiths satisfactorily and at a cheap rate.

His main shop was already located in the village of Esterhazy, and a branch one at Touchwood Hills, Saskatchewan (*ibid.*, January 24, 1908).

It is quite obvious that his business prospered, but at the same time it fulfilled a very great need. The Colony after 1896 had become the

centre of Hungarian, Slovak and Czech immigration. Even from far-away places settlers new and old, not sufficiently versed in English, came to Kaposvar and later to Esterhazy to do business and to purchase animals, machines and other necessities of farming. Kruppa was not an 'efficient' businessman; apparently, he spent too much time advising and assisting inexperienced and helpless new arrivals. "Many of the older settlers still recall how he was in the habit of taking them under his protection like his own children, and they think of him with great gratitude and affection" (*KMU*, February 9, 1948). Kruppa and his likes at Esterhaz-Kaposvar, even if deriving profit from it, performed an important role of instruction — they fitted out the newcomers not only with the external paraphernalia of farming, but also with the basics of business life, local methods of farming and availability of good-quality land, as well as with the elements of the customs and other behaviour patterns prevalent at the time in Canadian society.

Tornyos-Pálcza (Szabolcs County). József Kruppa (N½ 33, 18, 1), Ferencz Tóth (NW 7, 19, 1).

Village in district Tisza. 1851: "Half an hour's walk to the west of Örmezö. All grains grow in abundance." Landed estate: Count Forgach. 1643 Hungarians (*FE* III 187). 1882: 249 houses. 1538 Hungarians. 7648 Kh. Nearest post office: Kis-Várda (*Hr* 1882, 890). 1897: Landed estate: Count László Forgach, János Somlyody. 2683 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 386-7). Mándok (*Hr* 1898, 727). 1913: 352 houses. 2133 Hungarians. 7680 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 1241).

(Page 55) **Kristóff, Péter SW 3, 19A, 1; SE 4, 19A, 1**

Born: Garadna (Abauj-Torna) Hungary (see ann. to p. 25) in 1845. Died: Plunkett, Saskatchewan in 1925 (Ruzsa, p. 99). It appears that Péter was the elder brother of András K. Sr. (1851-1899) who had probably invited Péter and his family to the Colony from Leisering, Pennsylvania where Péter worked in the mines (*KMU*, May 9, 1925). More accurately the year of his immigration was 1889 as indicated by his sworn statement in 1902: started cultivation on SE 4, 19A, 1 in May, 1889 and obtained entry in the same year. Reference is made in March, 1902 to the fact that on his arrival Péter had made a bad choice of land owing to his haste to be near his brother, András, on Section 3, 19A, 11. By 1902 the northern half of the same was in the name of Barbara, the widow of András. In that year Péter refers to his family of ten children (HF DI 686 848). No doubt having weaker ties to the Colony with the passing away of his brother, Péter left it after a few years for Plunkett, where he is mentioned as one of the very early settlers (Ruzsa, p. 99; Paizs, p. 138). His passing away was reported in May, 1925 (*KMU*, May 9, 1925): "his table was always laid for visitors, even if no one was at home."

(Page 55) **Lovász, István. NE 10, 19, 1**

As with the two Gönczys, István Lovász (1856-1930) was also born at Göncz-Ruszka, Abauj-Torna County (see ann. to p. 33). He spent his time in the United States, during the seven years after 1885, working mostly in iron foundries, partly in Ohio, partly in Pennsylvania (*KMU*, March 27, 1930). Immediately upon arrival in May, 1892, Lovász built a log house 17′ by 30′ on NE 10, 19, 1 and broke up nine acres in the same year. By 1900, the amount of his broken-up land had increased to 90 acres, and the respective numbers of cattle and horses to 21 and four (sworn statement, April 25, 1900 — HF DI 449 665). He and his wife (nee Erzsébet Bialko) had four sons and three daughters. One daughter (Rozália) married Louis Nagy of Esterhaz (see ann. to p. 56); two sons also found Hungarian marriage partners at Esterhaz-Kaposvar. The remaining four children married non-Hungarians and left the Colony, including two sons who went to Detroit in the United States (source of information — Sister Anne Nagy, Swan River, Manitoba, a granddaughter of István Lovász — through the agency of Mrs. G. Mario, Regina, Saskatchewan, January 20, 1973).

(Page 56) **Nagy, György. SW 2, 19, 1 — Nagy, Lajos. SE 10, 19, 1**

György Nagy (1845-1915), a carpenter formerly of Örmező, Szabolcs County (see ann. to p. 41), arrived with his wife, (nee Mária Pilcsák), and son Lajos, along with István Pilcsák, Sr. (a brother of Mrs. Nagy), in 1888. The Nagys are shown in the same year as occupying their respective quarter-sections, but as living in the company house (abandoned by a first-settler). All of their possessions at that stage amounted to one cow and ten fowls (RS, p. 7). György Nagy was in great demand as a carpenter; it was he who built the first (wooden) church of Kaposvar, with the help of the settlers (interview with István Szmerekovszky, who as a youngster also assisted Nagy, Fort Qu'Appelle, May 26, 1973). György Nagy, having apparently completed some formal training towards priesthood, was regarded as being a clever and educated person. His son Lajos also inherited this reputation (interview with János Barilla, Esterhazy, August 31, 1973). In fact, Lajos became a very influential member of the community; he also acted as spokesman for the same, verbalizing popular feelings and demands, as well as heading protracted agitation for a Hungarian priest.

Lajos Nagy (1870-1939) also became memorable for two other reasons, the first being that he and his wife, Rozália Lovász, became the parents of eight daughters and nine sons, all of the seventeen reaching adulthood, the largest number of living children in any family within the Colony (source of information — Sister Anne Nagy, Swan River, Manitoba, a daughter of Lajos Nagy — through the agency of Mrs. G. Mario, Regina, January 20, 1973). The second reason for his local fame

was constituted by the fact that, by the 1920's, the number of his children was almost equalled by that of his quarter-sections (*KMU*, February 25,1928). He built a log house, 25′ by 18′ with thatched roof, on SE 10, 19, 1 in 1890. In 1898, there were only three children left in the family. He had 54 acres of broken land, as well as 11 head of cattle and two horses (sworn statement, June 27, 1898 — HF DI 456 044).

(Page 56) **Orosz, Mihály. NE 16, 19, 1**

Mihály Orosz (1864-1935) left Vizsoly, Abauj-Torna County (see notes below) for the United States in 1882. While working in a stone quarry, and then in a coal-mine in Pennsylvannia, Orosz befriended János Brunyánszky and his wife, nee Mary Kristóff (see ann. to p. 46), and married Janos' sister, Anna. Having read P. O. Esterhazy's advertisements in Hungarian-language American newpapers about the Colony and the great prospects of farming in the Canadian West, the Oroszs, together with the Brunyánszkys and the two Kristóff families, came in one group to Esterhaz in July, 1888 (interview with Mihály J. Orosz, 78, at Esterhazy, January 3, 1973). It appears that upon arrival Orosz occupied NW 3, 19A, 1 and desired to make an entry for it on August 2, 1888, which, however, was not possible, as the land had already been reserved (H. H. Hamilton, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, December 21, 1888 — HF DI 338 350). Notwithstanding, Orosz was listed as the occupant of NW 3, 19(!), 1 in February, 1889. Although the logs were already on the premises, no buildings had as yet been erected. He had broken up three acres of the land. He possessed at that time one yoke of oxen, one cow and a wagon. His family, at that stage, comprised his wife and three children (RS, p. 12). In 1895, Orosz denied occupation of NW 3, 19A, 1 or that he had ever done anything on it. He states, "I am on NW¼ 12, 19, 2, which I bot (!) from the N.W.L. Coy." — statement, June 21, 1895. In a letter of the same date, William Cosgrave of Sumner, a farmer of Irish descent and a frequent intermediary on behalf of the Hungarian settlers of the Colony, claims that NW 3, 19A, 1 is of no use as a homestead, because there is too much brush on it (to Dominion Lands Commissioner, ref. 343270, HF DI 338 350). After many more complications and letters, Orosz was asked to enter for NE 12, 19, 2 (Dominion Lands Commissioner, Winnipeg to William Cosgrave, Summer, February 10, 1896, *ibid.*). In 1902, Orosz's name appeared on NE 16, 19, 1, in addition to NE 12, 19, 2 (see sectional map at the end of the pamphlet). He must have acquired it by purchase after 1896. The Oroszs had altogether two sons (one of whom, Imre, moved to Detroit, United States) and three daughters (two in the Esterhazy area and one in Alberta) — interview with Mihály J. Orosz, *as above*.

Vizsoly (Abauj-Torna County). Mihály Orosz, NE 16, 19, 1. István Takács, SE 7, 19, 1.

Village in district Göncz, later Abauj-Szántó. 1851: Situated in the Hernád valley on the Kassa-Hegyalja highway. 1136 Hungarians (*FE* III 308). 1882: 169 houses. 1249 Hungarians. 3319 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 965). 1897: Landed estate: Lajos Klein. 1130 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 266). 1898: 190 houses. 1285 Hungarians. 3319 Kh. Nearest telegraph: Göncz (*Hr* 1898, 783). 1913: 223 houses. 1103 Hungarians. 3319 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 1314).

(Page 57) **Grading on 16, 19, 33 W1**

New Branch Line of Canadian Pacific Railway

According to the map (Coumans, No. 24), the embankment of the CPR did *not* cross 16, 19, 33 W1 (a fractional section, which is about four miles south-east of the present-day town of Esterhazy) but passed it fairly closely, following the valley of the Kaposvar Creek through 9, 19, 33 W1, immediately south of 16, 19, 33 W1. The photograph shows the grading crew at work with its horse teams and graders. P. O. Esterhazy can be discerned clearly, standing between the cassocked Father Woodcutter and Bill Adams' vehicle on the right.

(Page 58) **Home of Imre Pinke, SE 4, 18, 2**

The large whitewashed house is the most conspicuous object in the photograph. Pinke referred to it as erected by himself. However, he had stated in 1899 that the house had already been on the land in 1896 and that it was a shingle-roof log building 16′ by 39′, having a value of $500 (a very high valuation compared to other houses in the Colony). It is possible that the house had recently been renovated. Also the log stables, 14′ by 18′ and 14′ by 24′ respectively, as well as the granary of 16′ by 16′, can be identified in the picture (sworn statement July 21, 1899, HF DI 97879). The land itself appears pretty poor.

Pinke is seated in his 'buggy', well-knowing its value as a status symbol for viewers in the Central Europe of the time. His family is grouped in front of the house. It appears that his two sons are absent from the photograph and that Mrs. Pinke's three daughters are the ones closest to her.

(Page 59) **Pinke, Imre. SE 4, 18, 2**

Imre Pinke (1860-1926) immigrated to Canada from Bodajk, Fehér County (see below) at the age of 35. He came to the Colony, and after a while obtained entry to his quarter-section in May, 1896. SE 4, 18, 2 lies on the Whitewood bank of the Qu'Appelle River; thus, technically, it did not belong in the Colony. There was a house on the land, which had been abandoned by a Malcolm Gillis in 1885. According to the homestead inspector's report of July 10, 1885, it was "poor land . . . scrubby, small wood broken by ravines". Nevertheless, Pinke broke up 50 acres in the first four years, and had 30 head of cattle and 8 horses there

in 1899 (sworn statement, July 21, 1899). In the same year, he obtained his naturalization, and a year later the patent for the quarter-section (HF DI 97879). Between 1899 and 1902, Pinke seems to have achieved remarkable progress economically: the number of his cattle almost trebled, and that of his horses doubled. Of course, these numbers must have included his livestock as a cattle dealer. His trade largely rested on Hungarian immigration. Most newcomers from Hungary came almost automatically to Esterhaz-Kaposvar and, while spending some time there, acquired the first elements of socio-cultural as well as economic adaptation to the receiving society. Pinke became, before long, a most important agent of this initial adjustment for Hungarian settlers. In the first place, he did his best to learn the language and the ways of his new country. He even used an anglicized version of his surname: "Pinkie". As to his first name,

> . . . when Mr. Pinkie made entry he wrote his name in Hungarian language, but now as he became naturalized and mixed with English, he calls himself James (English for Imre) . . . I know Mr. Pinkie very well; we always call him Jim for short. (W. A. Lamont, Whitewood to A. J. Fraser, agent of Dominion Lands, Regina, July 14, 1899, HF DI 97879).

The English equivalent for "Imre" would be "Emery", yet for some reason or other, Pinke became known as "James". Ever since then, the name "Imre" has been translated among Hungarian immigrants as "James", a fact which will prove very helpful in the identification of individuals in records written both in the English and in the Hungarian languages.

It appears that both Pinke and his wife were even more hospitable and sociable than the average Hungarian farmer of the time. A call at their house became almost a 'must' for new arrivals. Food, drink and advice on the availability and location of free homesteads or land for sale was always there for the asking. The religious denominations of the callers did not matter to Pinke; he was just as ready to assist the Protestants as the Roman Catholics (his co-religionists). Thus Gyula Izsak, a first-settler farmer, a self-made poet and intellectual, and a member of the Reformed Church at Bekevar, was able to write at a later stage:

> At that time (about 1900) Imre Pinke was one of the protectors and guiding spirits of the Hungarians. His farm being in the vicinity of the town (Whitewood), he would give advice to a great many immigrants. (*KMU*, July 19-21, 1925.)

On occasion, he would enter into correspondence with prospective emigrants in Hungary, and provide them with information about Esterhaz and its area. He would even know of the time of their arrival, and would meet them at the Whitewood station. Of course, kindness and helpfulness

towards newcomers was not without some beneficial effects upon Pinke's business as a farmer and a cattle, as well as a horse, dealer. A specific account by another pioneer settler and leading member of the Bekevar community provides the following terse description (*KMU*, January 24, 1950):

> Soon Imre Pinke . . . who had known of our arrival beforehand . . . looked us up and placed us in the care of the blessedly benign. Fodor took us . . . on his so-called 'democrat' coach . . . to Imre Pinke's farm in the Qu'Appelle Valley . . . He put us up on a half-section beyond the valley, which Pinke would have liked to sell us . . . Here we purchased . . . three horses and two cows — naturally, through Pinke's agency.

The same informant mentions in another place — J. Ruzsa, *A Kanadai Magyarság Története* ('The History of the Canadian Hungarians'), Toronto: C. K. Publishing Co., 1940, p. 127 — that would-be Hungarian settlers could find shelter and hospitality at Pinke's house until their departure for their future home. "Of course, one had to work for one's keep." In fact, the informant, still a young man at the turn of the century, stayed with Pinke as a farm-hand for a year, for a lump sum of $100. During this time, he could learn much about prairie farming and the Canadian culture.

Pinke also advertised in at least one Hungarian newspaper in Pennsylvania for immigrants. Thus, János Varga (1848-1917) came to Esterhaz in 1900, because he had read one of Pinke's advertisements. Varga stayed at Esterhaz, working for farmers there, for about two years, and went to Bekevar in 1902 (interview with Mrs. Dániel Szakács, nee Zsófi Varga, 86, a daughter of János, at Kipling, May 20, 1973). Pinke had apparently improved his spoken and written English by 1903 to such an extent that he could carry out the variegated duties of an official interpreter, it is true, 'temporarily engaged' (J. Obed Smith, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg to D. W. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa, December 3, 1903 F 60868, vol. 2, No. 285 827, RG 15, B Ia, vol. 103). Thus, it was 'James' Pinke who translated, on December 17, 1903, the Rev. K. Kovácsi's letter to the North-West Territories Department of Education, asking for aid for the establishment of a school at Bekevar (dated December 7, 1903, Doc. 27459, No. 948, Department of Education).

His connection with the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration must have enhanced his standing in the community, and also have helped him in his activities in a few years' time as a settling agent on a large scale. Thus, his person was regarded as sufficiently important by *The Herald* (Whitewood, April 15, 1904) to insert an item about him saying that

> Mr. James Pinke, who is now employed as emigrant agent, arrived

home on Monday morning from the west where he has spent the past three weeks locating lands for new settlers.

In addition, he could embark upon setting up a colony of his own in 1906 (*KMU*, June 30, 1944). Two years later, his name appeared in a list of eight 'commissioners' (for taking statements under oath) (*Kanadai Magyarság*, July 3, 1908). In 1909, Pinke was referred to as a Justice of the Peace (*Ibid.*, June 4, 1909).

Bodajk (Feher County). Imre Pinke (SE 4, 18, 2).

Town in district Mor. 1851: 1765 Hungarians and Germans. Mineral wells, wine-growing. Landed estate: Countess Bethlen (*FE* I 141). 1882: 328 houses. 2195 Hungarians. 5850 Kh (*Hr* 1882, 87). 1897: Landed estate: Lajos Krausz. 2954 Kh (*Gr* 1897, 74-5). 1898: 347 houses. 2022 Hungarians. 5193 Kh (*Hr* 1898, 76). 1913: 330 houses. 1955 Hungarians. 5193 Kh (*Hr* 1913, 421).

(Page 60) **Joseph Knourek. E½ 12, 19A, 2. 1856-1920**

In the pamphlet it reads erroneously as W½ 12, 9A, 2. The sectional map attached to the end of the same shows the *eastern* half of the section as J. Knourek's land and the location of the Kolin school and the Esterhaz post office of which Knourek had become the post-master in 1891; thus the post office, according to the prevailing rules, was simultaneously moved into his house. Furthermore, all the papers included in the related homestead record clearly indicate that it was E½ 12, 19A, 2 for which entry had been obtained in 1887 and patent on December 28, 1903 (HF DI 252430). The second quarter-section mentioned in Knourek's statement is, according to the witness of the sectional map as well as of the Assessment Roll and Register, 1905, Local Improvement District No. 10-A-2 (*EC MS*), W½ 7, 19A, 1. It appears that he had arrived from Nova Silki (see below), Russia together with his own and his father's (Tobias Knourek) family. In addition to Joseph, Tobias had two other sons. Vaclav was already listed in 1889 as entered for a homestead and also possessing a house. The other son was still under age. Joseph at that stage already had a wife and four children (cf. RS pp. 335-336). By 1902, his family had grown to eight children (sworn statement, January 15, 1902, HF DI 252430). Joseph Knourek was one of the leaders of the Bohemians and Slovaks grouped together in his vicinity in the 'Kolin' district. The degree of Knourek's status and authority among his compatriots was distinctly shown by his office as postmaster of Esterhaz post office and storekeeper (see ann. to p. 1) for the Kolin district. The fact that the statements of Knourek and the other Bohemian, Hermanszky, are dated September 13, 1902 seems to point to a possible afterthought on the part of Esterhazy or the officials of the DI with regard to the need for involving some representatives of the Bohemian group as well. Both

Knourek and Hermanszky are likely to have come to the Colony through Esterhazy's agency.

Nova Silki("Southern Russia"). The previous place of residence of Joseph Knourek (W½ 12, 9A, 2) and also of Frank Hermanszky (S½ 1, 19, 2). — Probably the city or the district of Novosil in the Orlov region of the present-day USSR, and once part of the feudal principality of Novosilsk (*Bolshoja Szovjetszkaja Enciklopedija* — "Larger Soviet Encyclopaedia", 51 volumes, Moscow: Government Scientific Publishers. 1954, vol. 30, p. 104).

(Page 61) **Home of J. Knourek. E½ 12, 19A, 2**

The caption of the photograph states "W½ 12, 19A, 2" as location (see ann. to page 60 above). In 1902 the house was described as a shingle-roof log house 18′ by 36′ valued at $400. The two log stables were 24′ by 40′ and 15′ by 28′ and the granary 16′ by 30′. The three structures had a value of $200, while the 15 foot well was valued at $15 (Sworn statement. January 15, 1902, HF DI 252430).

(Page 62) **Home of J. Hermanszky on S½ 1, 19, 2**

The house is a 'company house', that is, built from the loan advanced by Sir George Stephen (CPR) to the first settlers of Esterhaz Colony in 1886. Houses of this type appeared 'castles' to prospective immigrants in Hungary who viewed the pamphlet.

(Page 63) **Hermanszky, Frank, S½ 1, 19, 2, 1859-1927**

Just like Joseph Knourek (see ann. to p. 60) Hermanszky, a Bohemian, had come from Nova Silki, Russia. In late 1889 he settled on SE 1, 19, 2 and bought it from Sir George Stephen (CPR) for $165 in 1896 (Solemn declaration by John Engelbert Forslund, Immigration Agent, Winnipeg, July 10, 1901. HF DI 309845). In the following year (1897) Hermanszky purchased SW 1, 19, 2 from the CPR as above for $200 (Solemn declaration by J. E. Forslund on the same day as above, HF DI 308511).

(Page 64) **Construction Camp, 16, 19, 33 W1**

New Branch Link of the Canadian Pacific Railway

Obviously, the construction camp must be situated in the vicinity of the construction site, as it indeed was in this case. As has been pointed out, the railway did not actually run through 16, 19, 33 W1, but only in its vicinity (see ann. to p. 57). P. O. Esterhazy and some members of his party can be seen just left of the tent on the left-hand side. The Rev. Woodcutter, owing to his black cassock, is easily identifiable within the group. The coach of the party, with two horses, stands out well against the white tent.

(Page 65) Szikora, Mihály, NW 34, 18, 1

The reference in the pamphlet to Szikora's location as SE is wrong. Both the AR, SPAR (1905) and his homestead record indicate NW 34, 18, 1 as his homestead. He built a house on it in May 1890 and obtained entry in December the following year, but did not apply for patent until April 1900. His sworn statement on the same occasion indicates that he was born in 1860, had a wife and ten children and had broken up only 58 acres of land between 1889 and 1900 (HF DI 576116). This fact can be better understood from his letter of September 17, 1900 to the DI in which Szikora complains of his inability to make a living owing to his very large family and the poor quality of his quarter-section. After proper inquiry Szikora is allowed to purchase NE 26, 18, 1 at one dollar per acre (November 16, 1900, HF DI 593366. The quarter-section is, however, in someone else's name in 1905 (AR, SPAR). No doubt the availability of better quality land induced him to move after 1905 to the new Hungarian settlement at Stockholm (Santha, *Three Generations*, p. 93) where he died and was buried in October, 1939 (tombstone). Szikora's place of origin in Hungary was "Ormezö" (in this connection see ann. to p. 41).

(Page 65) Tóth, Ferencz. NW 7, 19, 1

Ferencz Tóth (1850-1914) was one of a group of four men, three women and three children comprising the respective families of F. Tóth, I. Veres (see ann. to p. 66), Mihály Bernát and the bachelor István Baráth who, having arrived at Portland by the steamer "Vancouver" from Hamburg via Liverpool on November 30, 1886, became stranded in Montreal. They had been "swindled out of their money by the runners of Steamship Agencies." P. O. Esterhazy persuaded a Mr. Daley, government immigration agent in Montreal, to make "such provisions for their shelter, etc. as to afford them protection and some comfort . . ." Futhermore, Esterhazy found employment for the four men in the stone quarries for the duration of the winter (to J. Lowe, December 6, 1886, RG 17, I-1, vol. 515, No. 56779). It happened in the quarries that M. Bernát fell off a handcar and was crushed to death; his widow later married István Baráth (interview with István Szmerekovszky, at Fort Qu'Appelle, November 25, 1972, see ann. to p. 25).

Tóth came from Tornyos-Pálcza, Szabolcs County (concerning the place, see ann. to p. 53) where, working as a swine-herd, he inherited all the pride and traditions of that time-honoured occupation. As the animals in those days were taken 'to acorn' in the forest, the swine-herd had to be quick, determined and self-reliant (interview with I. Szmerekovszky, at Fort Qu'Appelle, April 6, 1973). He liked singing and merry-making also later, in the Colony. When in the appropriate mood, he would perform, on his own or together with István Veres,

Hungarian dances. But his real specialty was the 'Kondás tánc' ('swine-herd's dance'), in which he would dance, sing and play-act some highly symbolic rite of swine-herding of the distant past (interviews with József Tóth, 84, one of F. Tóth's sons, at Fort Qu'Appelle, October 8, 1972, and with János Barilla, at Esterhazy, November 19, 1972). Ferencz Tóth liked chatting with visitors, and did not allow anyone to leave without offering him a helping of home-cured bacon and a cup of tea (interview with József Tóth, at Fort Qu'Appelle, November 25, 1972).

As to his land, Tóth encountered many difficulties, as he described in a letter of February 2, 1894 directed to the Department of the Interior. It was translated and forwarded in Tóth's behalf by P. O. Esterhazy. On his arrival, Tóth occupied NW 7, 19, 1, which, however, proved for him a very unwise choice. There had been no improvements on the quarter-section — Tóth himself had to build a dwelling on it — yet it was encumbered with heavy debts, on account of the CPR loan accepted by a first-settler, who had then abandoned the quarter-section. Tóth had already broken up 80 acres and, (in the words of Esterhazy)

> I have lost my health and faculty of hearing by excessive hard work and I may, in consequence, at any moment become unfit of continuing to labor for the support of my family.

The substance of his request was the exchange of SE 17, 19, 1 with NW 7, 19, 1 (P. O. Esterhazy to DI, New York, February 20, 1894, No. 11093, F 350 644). Nothing came of the exchange, and so Tóth made an agreement on January 1, 1896 for the purchase of NW 7, 19, 1 for a flat price of $450. A 'quit claim' concerning the quarter-section was not issued until April 9, 1907 (HF DI 309 390).

Tóth refers to 320 acres as the total of his holdings. Indeed, mention is made, on behalf of Tóth by William Cosgrave, of Tóth's homestead on 20, 19, 2 in a letter to the DI, January 7, 1901. In fact, Tóth asks in the same letter for the reservation of the southern half of 30, 19, 2, which would be contiguous with NW 20, 19, 2, for his two sons. However, no part of 30, 19, 2 was ever acquired by the Tóths. It is interesting to take note of an argument in Cosgrave's letter (HF DI 609 680):

> He is a Hungarian & that colony was so crowding that most of the young people are scattering . . . therefore you will try & deal with this case so as to keep the family together.

Ferencz Tóth and his wife, nee Borcza Poncsak, had nine sons and one daughter, all of whom reached adulthood (interview with József Tóth, Fort Qu'Appelle, November 25, 1972).

(Page 66) **Veres, István. NE 7, 19, 1**

The place of origin of István Veres (1855-1939) is stated as Örmezö in the pamphlet (concerning the place see ann. to p. 41). But, according to the *Record of Interments 1915-1967, Kaposvar* (at the R.C. Rectory,

Esterhazy, Sask.), his birthplace was Tornyos-Pálcza, Szabolcs County. One reason for this difference could have been that Veres had moved from Tornyos-Pálcza to the neighbouring Örmezö, or that his son 'Pista', who provided and signed the statement in the absence of his father, did not properly remember the names. In any case, Veres was a good friend of Ferencz Tóth of Tornyos-Pálcza. He emigrated together with Tóth in 1886; he worked along with him in the same stone quarries in Montreal; he performed Hungarian dances with Tóth (see ann. to p. 65), and he chose his first quarter-section, SW 7, 19, 1, next to Tóths (NW 7, 19, 1). Veres also had to contend with the burden of CPR debts inherited from a previous settler who had abandoned SW 7, 19, 1. It was purchased by Veres for $585 on January 1, 1901, and a quit claim was issued for it in 1906 (HF DI 309392). Thus, Veres was still entitled to a free homestead, of which fact he took advantage in 1897 by entering on SE18, 19, 1 and building a house on it in April, 1903. A patent was issued for the homestead on July 30, 1904 (HF DI 307 736). It was characteristic of the muddled land administration of the time that a letter should have been written by the Assistant Secretary, DI, Ottawa to the Agent, Dominion Lands, Yorkton (March 10, 1898), wanting to know why the local agent had not replied to the DI's telegram of June 14, 1897. The telegram had stated that SE 18, 19, 1 was given to S. Veres in error, and asked if Veres would choose some other land. A letter from R. S. Park, Homestead Inspector, Whitewood, to the Agent, Dominion Lands Office, Yorkton, April 4, 1898 reported that Veres was not willing to give up SE 18, 19, 1, as he had 40 acres ready to crop in the spring and had bought wire to fence the whole quarter-section (HF DI 307 736). According to a sworn statement (December 29, 1903), Veres had also purchased SE 7, 19, 1 in the spring of 1887 (*ibid.*). Indeed, Veres appears on the sectional map as being the owner of all of the three quarter-sections mentioned above.

(Page 69) **Harvest of 1902**

John E. Forslund, Immigration Agent in the Immigration Branch of the Land Department, Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Winnipeg,

	Wheat		*Oats*		*Barley*		*Rye*	
	1901	*1902*	*1901*	*1902*	*1901*	*1902*	*1901*	*1902*
Stephen (István) Barath	900	1000	500	400	—	100	—	100
John (János) Babijak	1402	1400	502	400	42	50	152	75
Joseph (József) Szmerekovszky	280	1000	126	200	—	—	—	—
Alex. (Sándor) Gonczy	1835	1500	470	500	—	—	—	—
George (György) Marjo	1152	1500	492	800	—	100	—	150
George (György) Hanics	2100	1400	530	500	—	200	115	150
Stephen (István) Katrenszky	850	1400	400	400	—	100	80	75
Louis (Lajos) Gonczy	1400	1580	1500	1275	—	—	—	—
Stephen (István) Pilcsak	1800	600	600	300	—	—	—	—
Francis (Ferenc) Hermanszky	?	1000	?	500	?	35	?	30
Joseph (József) Knourek	?	1050	?	550	—	—	—	—
Joseph (József) Lengyel	1500	1500	500	750	—	75	—	—

who, of course, was one of Esterhazy's companions on his trip to the Colony in July, 1902, supplied him with up-to-date information concerning the harvest of the current year. In the table above, the respective yields of the 1901 (as given in the individual statements in the pamphlets of the farmers named) and the 1902 harvests are listed side by side.

The Background of the Sample Group

It may be helpful to further research if some of the loose threads apparent in the particular annotations are brought together in one brief account.

The sample groups, that is, those 31 settlers of the Colony who contributed statements to the pamphlet, incorporate 29 families who had originally come from Hungary. Some knowledge of their pre-immigrational background is likely to facilitate a more thorough understanding of the grievances and ambitions which in most cases prompted them to emigrate and will illuminate the degree of success and prosperity achieved by them in the Colony. The data relevant in the present context and listed in the last paragraph of the annotations to the individual statements of the members of the sample group are integrated in the table below. Its first three columns representing the village, the district and the county of their origin in Hungary show that most members of the group had come from a comparatively small area in the vicinity of the valley of the Hernad river in the former eastern Upper-Hungary. Column 4 reveals the existence in ten of the sixteen villages, of extensive landed estates, obviously restricting for the oncoming generation the chances of acquiring land locally. Columns 5-8 indicate in Khs* the average land-holding per person in each village in 1851, 1882; 1898 and 1913 respectively. It is clear from the figures that even the largest averages in the present context were minute (and probably inferior in quality owing to the mountainous nature of the location of several villages) compared with the corresponding aspects of the Esterhaz Colony. The farm sizes appear in most cases decreasing or stationary. Fluctuations in the respective populations are shown in the percentages of Columns 9-11. Not unexpectedly increases in population reflect decreases in farm sizes and growing averages of land holdings are connected with diminishing populations. Most of the villages seem to fall in the category of decreasing or stationary populations, which fact may be attributed, in view of the high rate of multiplication within the sample group, to emigration or migration to larger urban centres.

The data compiled by Esterhazy in the pamphlet, vague as they are, provide a useful basis for further discussion of the area at the turn of the century in respect of the demographic features as well. Thus the

*One Kh (Katasztralis hold) is equal to 1.42 acres.

Village	*District*	*County*	*Landed Estate*	*1851 Kh*	*1882 Kh*	*1898 Kh*	*1913 Kh*	*1851-1882 %*	*1882-1898 %*	*1898-1913 %*
Bodajk	Mór	Fehér	56.9%	1.7	1.3	1.1	1.2	+24.3	-7.8	-3.8
Felsõ Méra	Szikszó	Abauj-Torna	23.7%	1.4	1.8	2.0	1.6	-22.4	-8.1	+20.6
Felsõ Novaj	Szikszó	Abauj-Torna	0	—	2.7	2.7	2.7	—	0.0	+1.0
Garadna	Szikszó	Abauj-Torna	22.1%	3.4	2.5	—	2.2	—	-0.9	+13.4
Göncz	Göncz	Abauj-Torna	16.9%	1.2	1.7	1.8	2.1	-31.3	-7.6	-10.0
Göncz Ruszka	Göncz	Abauj-Torna	47.6%	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.1	-25.6	-0.9	+7.2
Jánok	Torna	Abauj-Torna	0	—	7.6	6.2	5.6	—	+23.1	+10.4
Korlát	Göncz	Abauj-Torna	38.6%	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.5	-28.2	-2.1	-14.0
Örmezõ	Tisza	Szabolcs	0	—	1.7	1.6	2.4*	—	+1.7	-5.3
Puszta Radvány	Szikszó	Abauj-Torna	0	—	7.7	7.4	4.9	—	+3.7	+52.4
Siba	Szekcsõ	Sáros	70.8%	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.5	-11.5	+8.6	+2.3
Teés	Zircz	Veszprém	70.9%	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.3	+12.3	-3.1	-5.0
Torna Ujfalu	Torna	Abauj-Torna	0	—	3.3	3.3	3.7	—	-0.3	-10.8
Tornyos-Pálcza	Tisza	Szabolcs	34.9%	3.0	3.2	2.8	2.3	-6.4	+17.9	+17.6
Vizsoly	Göncz	Abauj-Torna	34.1%	1.9	1.7	—	2.0	+10.0	+2.9	-14.2
Váralja	Munkács	Bereg	0	—	1.1	0.6	0.4	—	+37.3	+40.1

*1900: 2.5Kh now 'Mezõladány' 57.0% of population came from Örmezõ.

average size of the Hungarian families of the colony appears to be larger than what can be deduced from his related facts. Instead of four and a half persons per family unit a figure twice as large is yielded from the examination of the particulars of those twenty-three families (of the 31 whose statements form part of the pamphlet) for which the number of children could be established. The slightly higher average than 9 reflects an extremely high rate of multiplication for the group. As the 23 families tend to belong among the first settlers in better economic circumstances than the relative newcomers, an average family membership of nine for the rest of the population would probably be too high. If the population figure of the Colony, reported as 900, is divided by 130, the actual number of the families of the area, the resulting figure of about seven would constitute a more likely approximation to the average family size of the Colony.*

*See also ann. to p. 13 of the pamphlet.

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Hido, Istvan, 87, Lestock, Sask., Nov. 11, 1972.

Laczko, Miss Anna, 75, Kaposvar, Oct. 9, 1972.

Marjo, Istvan, 84, Regina, Jan. 4, 1973.

Musztik, Mrs. Mihaly (nee Maria Brunyanszky), 86, Esterhazy, June 20, '73.

Nagy, Sister Anne, Swan River, Man. (through the agency of Mrs. G. Mario, Regina, Jan. 20, 1973).

Orosz, Mihaly J., 78, Esterhazy, Jan. 3, 1973.

Pilcsak, Mrs. Bela (nee Erzsebet Horhauser), 72, Kipling, May 25, 1973.

Plosz, Mrs. Gyula (nee Ilonka Kiss), 70, Stockholm, June 8, 1973.

Szakacs, Mrs. Daniel (nee Zsofi Varga), 86, Kipling, May 20, 1973.

Szmerekovsky, Annie, 73, Ft. Qu'Appelle, Oct. 8, 1972.

Szmerekovsky, Istvan, 87, Ft. Qu'Appelle, Oct. 8, 1972; Oct. 20, 1972; Nov. 25, 1972; April 5, 1973; April 6, 1973; May 26, 1973.

Toth, Mrs. Janos (nee Rozsi Katrensky), 76, Esterhazy, June 20, 1973.

Toth, Jozsef, 84, Ft. Qu'Appelle, Oct. 8, 1972; Nov. 25, 1972.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CENTER

CANADIAN PLAINS STUDIES

1. Richard Allen, ed., *A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains, 1973*
2. Kovacs, Martin Louis, *Esterhazy and Early Hungarian Immigration to Canada.*
3. *Papers on Religion and Society in the Prairie West (forthcoming).*

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

1. B. Y. Card, *"The Expanding Relation: Sociology in Prairie Universities,"* 1973

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